

POL

27-9

BIAFRA-NIGERIA

7/24/69

Systematic declassification review of material in this folder  
was completed by the Department of State on:

3/19/96

ghr

(Date and Reviewer's Initials)

The remaining material was declassified as of that date.

0145

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND959503
By	MM
NARA Date	10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE

Info:

INFO: Amembassy LONDON  
Amembassy PARIS  
USMission USUN NY  
Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
USMission GENEVA

STATE

SUBJECT LSM MEETING OF EXPERTS IN GENEVA

REFERENCE: STATE 124074

~~FOR AMBASSADOR FROM XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Para 4 reftel incorrectly transmitted. Should read QUOTE

4. Regarding African considerations cited Para 3 reftel,  
would not great bulk of African countries find Geneva venue  
unobjectionable, repeat unobjectionable, particularly for a  
technical meeting, if FMG itself were agreeable. UNQUOTE

RICHARDSON

Drafted by:

AF:CRM/CF:SC/Chott

Tel. Ext.

22530

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: AF - Ambassador Newsom

Clearances:

XXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXX

FORM 8-65 DS-322

Classification

0146

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VIND 954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/00

Pol 27-9 Biagra - Nigeria  
124555

26 JUL 69 14 47Z

FOR OCIT USE ONLY

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pwh

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

124607

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET  
Classification

26 JUL 69 17 42Z

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Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

INFO: USMission GENEVA  
USUN  
Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
Amembassy LONDON  
Amembassy PARIS

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

L I M D I S

REF LAGOS 6719

For Charge

1. Department appreciates Ambassador's and your prompt and effective representations to Gowon and Arikpo.
2. When opportunity permits, request you express Department's appreciation to Gowon for his willingness reconsider earlier decision on Geneva meeting and his consequent agreement to send representative.

GP-3

END

RICHARDSO:

6

Drafted by:

AF:AmbCRN: dal 7-26-69

Tel. Ext.  
5208

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

AF - Ambassador C. Robert Moore

Clearances:

AF/W - Mr. Sherry  
U/CF - Mr. Schott (draft)

SECRET  
Classification

FORM DS-322  
8-65

0147

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VIND 954/563  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET  
Classification

Origin ACTION: US Mission GENEVA IMMEDIATE  
Info INFO Amembassy ABIDJAN  
" LAGOS  
" PARIS

STATE

LIMDIS

GENEVA FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON.

~~For Early Delivery~~

Subject: Nigerian Relief

Ref: Paris 11270

1. Appreciate your thorough report on conversation with Houphouet.
2. Assume that if proposed meeting takes place you will not repeat not encourage Houphouet in direction playing official role. Such a role would distort neutral nature of auspices. If he planned appear on Biafran side it might well be offensive to Biafrans as much as to Nigerians.
3. You may wish, however, offer to keep Houphouet informed during course of meeting, since he could prove helpful in background in efforts make Biafrans more amenable.
4. We note report of your conversation with Schumann

Drafted by: AF/W:DSSpigler:vcs:7/25/69

Tel. Ext. 2724

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF:Ambassador Moore

Clearances:

U/CF:SSchott

U - Mr. Ruse (draft)

SECRET

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0148

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VMD959503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/03

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
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PAGE 2

SECRET  
*Classification*

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Origin ACTION: A USMission GENEVA

Info:

(Paris 11259) indicated you concurred in latter's suggestion of separate bilateral meetings Geneva. Department assumes such approach would be understood as preliminary step aimed at finding common ground for negotiations between two parties.

END

RICHARDSON

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

Clearances:

SECRET

*Classification*

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0149

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 954543  
By MVA Date 10/5/03

75



SECRET POL 27-9 BIARRA -  
Classification  
Department of State NIGERIA  
**TELEGRAM**  
124625  
42/3

INDICATE:  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: US MISSION GENEVA

PRIORITY

26 JUL 69 18 38Z

124625

State

LIMDIS

FOR GUTMAN.

REF Geneva 2633.

1. Suggest you check with Tubby or US Mission

conference officer responsible, and advise current source of  
funding, and  
/ magnitude of additional funds needed, ~~if any~~  
if any.

END

RICHARDSO.

DRAFTED BY:  
U/CF:HBShishkin

DRAFTING DATE  
7/26/69

TEL. EXT.  
29524

APPROVED BY:  
Stephen S. Schott

CLEARANCES:

SECRET LIMDIS

~~SECRET~~

Classification

FORM DS-322  
4-68

0150

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VIND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/03

66 POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
 XR POL 15-1 NZ  
 OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State 1 2 4 5 0 3

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

INFO; Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
 Amembassy LONDON  
 Amembassy PARIS  
 Amembassy WELLINGTON  
 USUN  
 USMission GENEVA ~~(xxxxxx)~~

STATE

SUBJECT: Nigeria: New Zealand Prime Minister's Letters

1. Prime Minister of New Zealand has sent personal letters to General Gowon, General Ojukwu and UN Secretary General U Thant re Nigerian relief crisis, according NZ Emboff here. Letters may be made public when answers received. Texts not yet available.
2. Letter to Gowon reportedly reiterates New Zealand support for Nigerian //unity but points out difficulty in reconciling relief impasse with FMG intentions re reconciliation of easterners after war. Letter calls on FMG for more flexible attitude in light world concern over needless deprivation. Letter to Ojukwu, which delivered to Biafran rep in London, makes similar appeal for concessions designed to promote adequate supply of relief to needy civilians. Prime Minister made "special appeal" in U Thant message asking that SecGen use personal influence to help resolve relief stalemate. SecGen also urged to express

Drafted by:

AF/W:Wach:nb 7/25/69

Tel. Ext.  
2946

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

AF/W:DSSpigler

Clearance:

AF - Amb. Moore

EA/ANZ - Mr. Brower

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

0151

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 Authority: VIND 954503  
 By: MVA Date: 10/5/03

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Origin  
Info:

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

Page 2 of 2

to belligerents concern of international community/ re relief  
problem.

3. New Zealand Emboff foresees no real likelihood of success this  
effort, which essentially a response to domestic public opinion.

END

ACTING

RICHARDSON

Drafted by:	Tel. Ext.	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:
Clearances:		

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FORM  
8-65 DS-322

0152

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority 1/ND 954503  
By MMNARA Date 10/5/03



66

POL 27-9 BIAFRA NIGERIA

## OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TOSECRET  
Classification

124645

31-B

26 JUL 69 21 28Z

FOR OC/T USE ONLY

Origin ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

Info: INFO: USMission GENEVA  
USUN  
Amembassy LAGOS  
Amembassy LONDON  
Amembassy PARIS

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

L I M D I S

REF ADDIS 3281

In view Lagos 6719, Ethiopian Government assistance in getting FMG to Geneva appears meeting no longer/necessary. Suggest, however, you give Ketema general background on Geneva meeting, stressing need for secrecy. Necessary background cables have been sent. (State 124517, State 120425, State 124091). GP-3

END

RICHARD SG:

Drafted by: AF:AmbCRMoore:dal 7-26-69 Tel. Ext. 5208 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF - Ambassador Robert Moore

Clearances: AF/W - Mr. Sherry  
U/CF - Mr. Schott (draft)

SECRET  
ClassificationFORM DS-322  
8-65

0153

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VIND 954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/00

75

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
1 2 4 6 1 3

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL  
Classification

26 JUL 69 17 47Z  
FOR OFFICE ONLY

Origin  
Info:

ACTION: USMission GENEVA

INFO: Amembassy LIBREVILLE

STATE

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN RELIEF

REFERENCE: STATE 123795

Reftel should be read in conjunction with STATE 114939.

134613

Drafted by: AF/CW - Mr. Schauffele  
Tel. Ext.:  
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF/CW - Mr. Schauffele

Clearances:

U/CF - Mr. Dewey (subs)

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0154

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VND 954503  
By: MW NARA Date: 10/5/05

75

POL 27-9 BIAFRA NIGER 124646

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

26 JUL 69 21 28Z  
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Origin  
Info:

ACTION: USMission GENEVA IMMEDIATE

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
Amembassy PARIS  
Amembassy LONDON

Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
USUN NEW YORK

STATE

1. Phonecon from Biafran delegation New York at 4:00 P.M. EDT today announced that Biafran representatives would be present for meeting in Geneva. Advised that due travel difficulties might be a day or two late in arriving.
2. U/CF will have full text Biafran acceptance by 4:00 P.M. July 27. Will transmit as soon as received.

124646

Drafted by: AF: AEDewey	Tel. Ext. 29624	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF: AEDewey
Clearances: AF: RCMoore		

RICHARDS

SECRET

Classification

0155

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VMD 959503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/03

0156

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/01

THROUGH: HON. CHIEF ANTHONY ENAGORO,  
FEDERAL COMMISSIONER FOR INFORMATION AND LABOUR

and

CHAIRMAN,  
ALL RELIEF AGENCIES OPERATING IN NIGERIA  
MEETING AT THE SENATE CHAMBERS, PARLIAMENT BUILDING,  
LAGOS - 30/6/69 and 1/7/69

TO: THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA

DELIVERED AT THE MEETING BY

ALHAJI JA' USMAN, DIRECTOR-GENERAL, MIRO AND  
LEADER OF THE MIRO'S REPRESENTATIVES AT THE MEETING

Chairman Sir,

P R O T E S T

1. IN VIEW OF THE FACT: that the National Rehabilitation Commission, now called National Commission for Rehabilitation, (an arm of the Military Federal Government of Nigeria) has long been aware of the existence of THE MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION, MIRO, and has also dully recognised the Organisation.
2. BRANCH IN NIGERIA: That the National Commission for Rehabilitation is aware of the fact that in accordance with the constitution of the MIRO, the Organisation has since established its Branch in Nigeria, with Alhaji Abubakar Gumi, the Grand Kadi, as the President, all the Emirs and Muslim Obas in Nigeria as Patrons and Muslim Personalities drawn from all over the Federation, as Vice Patrons and Vice-Chairmen of the MIRO, and
3. That the National Commission for Rehabilitation is also aware of the fact that all the above Hon. Officers of the Organisation have pledged their support, financially and morally, for the MIRO's plans to help give adequate relief practically to our Ibo brothers and sisters affected by the current, civil war in the country.
4. APPLAUD PLANS: That the National Commission for Rehabilitation is also aware that in pursuance of their avowed policy to encourage and do all that lie in their powers to promote peace-ful co-existence, real National Unity

.... /2

0157

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By	MW NARA
Date	10/5/05

2.

and love for one another in the Federation of Nigeria, presently under their rule, the Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, and Commander -in-Chief of the Nigeria Armed Forces, Major-General Yakubu Gowon and many other State Military Governors have applauded the plans of the Muslims of this country to take active part and, if possible, the lead, in sending relief materials, foodstuff, drugs, clothings building materials etc. to their fellow Nigerian kiths and kins directly affected by the current civil war in the country, in order:-

- (a) To help in returning the country quickly to a state of normalcy;
- (b) To demonstrate, practically in a most appropriate manner, to the world in general and the Ibos in particular that Muslims are in no way against the Ibos, and that on the contrary the Muslims are longing and working hard to receive them back to the Federation with great joy and happiness;
- (c) To remove the wicked hood of odium from Nigerian Muslim corporate-body, with which the vicious and unfounded propaganda abroad by certain elements has for long now cloaked, unwarrantedly, Nigerian Muslims in the eyes of the uninformed outside world that Nigerian Muslims are against the Ibos, thereby falsely calling the present civil war a religious war with a view to fishing in troubled waters and
- (d) To assure the Ibos that practically all Nigerian Muslims, like their counterpart non-Muslims, from all parts of <sup>the country</sup> and in all walks of life in Government Service including the Armed Forces - Judiciary Police, Executive and Administration; Commercial Houses, Labour and Social Organisations, are all prepared to welcome them back to their folds and help solve any problems that may from time to time confront them as a result of the present unfortunate national calamity

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0158

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Authority	VND 950/503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

3.  
ASSURANCE OF CO-OPERATION

which affects the people of Nigeria, in general and in so far as the Military leaders have also assured the MIRC of their cooperation in its endeavour in respect of which the Organisation has earmarked a target of donations of £3,000,000 (three million pounds) for the Organisation's first phase Relief and Rehabilitation work in the civil war affected zones in Nigeria;

5. SLANDERED AND LIBELLED

I therefore humbly submit that the National Commission for Rehabilitation should give the representative of the Nigerian Muslims who have been so much grossly slandered over radio network and libelled in various printing publicity media abroad, without any justification /opportunities akin to those accorded to the Nigerian Red Cross for such malicious propaganda/ and bearing in mind that the Muslims form a greater percentage of the population of Nigeria and also that the Federal Military Government is for the encouragement of and fair deal with all irrespective of their class, religion or creed in its efforts to find a peaceful means of refuting such concocted, unwarranted and ungodly accusations against any of the religious bodies.

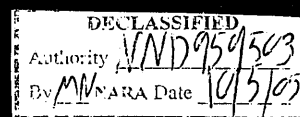
6. SUCCOUR FROM CHRISTIANITY "CROSS"

It is a notorious fact that the "Cross", be it white, red or black, is associated with the salvation which Christians believe was bequeathed to them as a result of the crucifixion; this cardinal belief means that whatever contributions Muslims may make through the Nigerian Red Cross, will be, and has always been, regarded by the victims as succour from the Christian "Cross", consequently, the uninformed as they are many there believe that it is only the Christians who are always caring for, and coming to, the aid of the victims of the current civil war.

7. In view of the above facts, it would have been very embarrassing to all Nigerians, and to the Nigerian Muslims in particular if during the current meeting of all relief

.../4

0159



agencies, which are 18 in number, there was no organization like the MIRO to fill the vacuum in the relief service in Nigeria where Muslims form an overwhelming majority.

7. ENTIRE MUSLIMS

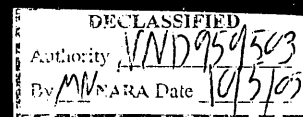
Furthermore, by the Muslims religious principles, teaching and practices it should be recalled that Muslims are more than any religious body mostly interested in charitable and humanitarian services and if the Federal Military Government as is getting obvious, wants to get the entire muslims populace to be interested in contributing generously - money, cattles, foodstuff etc., which are mostly needed by the victims of the current civil war, equal recognition, opportunity, share, encouragement and assistance should be given to the MIRO as is being given to the Nigerian Red Cross which is the MIRO's counter-part.

8. It should also be borne in mind that the MIRO is in a unique position to attract part and full-time voluntary workers; materials from both man-power and material resources quite different from those the Nigerian Red Cross could attract; and if such a position is reached, the country as a whole would enjoy more support from within and without, and it would also increase the nation's ability to handle the large volume of relief materials revealed at the current meeting yesterday June 30, 1969, to be piling unused in the country.

9. The National Commission for Rehabilitation will ~~better~~ help translate the co-operation and support (which Military Rulers have already assured the MIRO) into an open reality by also publicly assuring the organization of equal co-operation, recognition, share, opportunity and assistance which Government has already openly assured only the Nigerian Red Cross.

.... /5

0160





I hereby, on behalf of the President of the MIRO, Alhaji Abubakar Gumi (the Grand Kadi) our respected Patrons, other members of the Executive, and the entire Muslims of Nigeria, register a very strong and serious protest against the seeming attitude to discourage Muslims from:-

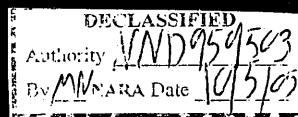
- (a) making the Ibos to realise that it is far from the truth that Muslims are against them;
- (b) demonstrating to the world at large that here in Nigeria, there is nothing like Religious conflict, and that we have always lived in harmony and shall continue to do so in peace and tranquility after the war, and
- (c) proving that there is an atmosphere of fairness, justice, equity, suspicion-free, malice-free and hatred-free abiding in this country now than ever, side by side with love for one another, irrespective of tribes or religions.

I now humbly call upon the Federal Military Government to consider the case and the cause of the MIRO and at its earliest convenience, make a public statement about the MIRO and its participation in the Relief and Rehabilitation work in the Federation; the organization also wishes the world to know whether it will be accorded equal opportunity etc., as the Nigerian Red Cross in such matters as seconding government trained administrators, allocating premises and subventions in cash, and in kind, to the MIRO which in addition to the normal humanitarian services it shouldered, with the task of refuting by action and other means the lies of certain mischievous elements and their foreign agents that Muslims are against the Ibos, and that the current national calamity is a religious war between the Christians and the Muslims in Nigeria.

Lagos July 1st, 1969.



0161



Copy to:-

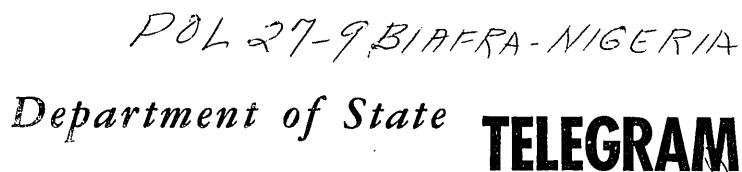
The Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria.  
All the State Military Governors.  
The President of the MIRO.  
All the Patrons of the MIRO.  
All the Vice-Patrons and Vice-Presidents of the MIRO.  
The Muslim World League, Mecca.  
The Muslim World Congress, Pakistan.  
The Afro Asian Central Islamic Organization, Indonesia.  
The Red Crescent, Algiers.  
All the Relief Agencies in Nigeria.  
All the Foreign Embassies in Nigeria.

'SAL'

'SAL'

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05



PAGE 01 LAGOS 06719 261246Z

43.  
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 07 0600 000830 000NSCE 000DOPE 000CIAE 000USIE 000/071 W  
089983

0 261200Z JUL 69 ZFF DEPY GENEVA ADDIS ABABA  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7386  
INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USUM  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

~~SECRET~~ LAGOS 6719

Figure 1. The relationship between the number of species and the number of genera in the family *Polysphinctidae*.

LINDIS

GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

SUBJECT: LGM MEETING OF EXPERTS IN GENEVA

REF: A) STATE 1246740 B) GENEVA 26170 C) STATE 120425;  
D) STATE 124095

1. AMBASSADOR AND I SAW GOUNG WITH ARIKPO ON WAY TO AIRPORT THIS MORNING AND MADE POINTS AS INSTRUCTED REF: A. GOUNG DEMONSTRATED UNDERSTANDING OF SITUATION CREATED AND AGREED TO PHG REPRESENTATIVES ATTENDING TECHNICAL MEETING GENEVA, ADDING ONLY SLIGHTLY FACETIOUSLY, "AS FAREWELL PRESENT TO AMBASSADOR." HE INSISTED, HOWEVER, UPON OBSERVANCE STRICTEST SECRECY FOR MEETING AS PROMISED PARA 31 FERGUSON LETTER (REF C). HE INSTRUCTED ARIKPO TO WORK OUT DETAILS COMMENTING GIVEN PRESSURE OF TIME WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO USE PEOPLE ALREADY IN GENEVA. AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED USEFULNESS OF HAVING AT LEAST ONE REPRESENTATIVE FAMILIAR WITH R. E. STATE RIVERS. HOPE WE WILL BE PROVIDED FURTHER DETAILS BEFORE JULY 25TH.

GP-3.

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SEE REF Y

0163

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 954/503  
By MM NARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S

TOP SECRET

I N C O M I N G

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Geographic

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EUR 10  
NEA 8

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Other

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2/10/69

0164

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Authority VND 950/503  
By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 953

PAGE 01 LAGOS 06721 261305Z

43  
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, 1077 090075

O 261230Z JUL 69 ZFF-6  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE IMMEDIATE 7988  
INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USUN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

S E C R E T LAGOS 6721

LINDY

GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

SUBJ: LSM MEETING OF EXPERTS IN GENEVA

REF: LAGOS-6719

1. SINCE POSSIBLE FMG MAY DECIDE SEND TECHNICAL  
EXPERTS FROM LAGOS, CONSIDER UNLIKELY FMG CAN  
FIELD DELEGATION IN GENEVA IN TIME FOR MEETING  
ON 28TH. GP-3.  
OLSON

SECRET

0165

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959/503  
By MNARA Date 10/3/05

L I M D I S

TOP SECRET

I N C O M I N G

Screener

POST Lagos

SERIAL 6721

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U/PW  
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Geographic

AF 5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 10  
NEA 8

Functional

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Other

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DOD  
CIA  
USIA 4  
PC

Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

TRSY 6  
FRB  
EXIM  
BOB  
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2/10/69

0166

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Authority VMD 9503  
By MVA Date 10/5/03



POL 7 ETH  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 928

PAGE 01 ADDIS 03281 261156Z

54  
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071 W  
089769

O P 261110Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 284  
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USUN NEW YORK 568

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 3281

L I M D I S

REF: STATE 124095

SEPTEL PROVIDING BACKGROUND INITIATIVE PROPOSED REFTEL  
NOT RECEIVED, POSSIBLY BECAUSE OF ATMOSPHERIC  
CONDITIONS PRESENTLY AFFECTING COMMUNICATIONS. SINCE  
BOTH HIM AND FONMIR KEYEMA WILL BE OUT OF TOWN THIS  
WEEKEND, I PROBABLY WILL BE UNABLE MEET WITH THEM AS  
INSTRUCTED UNTIL SOMETIME MONDAY, JULY 28.  
HALL

SECRET

0167

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Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S

TOP SECRET

I N C O M I N G

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POST ADDIS ABABA

(Time Received)

SERIAL 3281

100 JUL 20 11 9 51

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 851

Secretariat

Geographic

Other

S/S-S 1  
S/S-O 1  
S/S-Screener (3)  
S/S-EX  
S/S-CMS  
S/S-O DIR  
MilRep  
Digest  
Task Force

AF 5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 10  
NEA 8

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

Functional

Principals and  
"S" Area

CU  
E 2  
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INR 6  
IO 4  
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2/10/69

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By MV NARA Date 10/5/05





POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 066

PAGE 01 GENEVA 02633 261522Z

54  
ACTION: SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCD 00, ASD 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071 W  
090649

O 261455Z JUL 69  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2633  
SECRET GENEVA 2633

LINDIS

FOR UZCF

SCHOLY FROM FERGUSON

SUBJECT: LSP MEETING

PLEASE ASSURE THAT NECESSARY FUNDS AVAILABLE AND DISBURSEMENT  
AUTHORIZED IN CONNECTION MEETING.  
TUBBY

GENEVA-2633  
7-26 69

SECRET

0169

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Authority VND 950/503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S

TOP SECRET

I N C O M I N G

Screeners *gmm*

POST *GENERAL*

(Time Received)

SERIAL *2633*

1969 JUL 23 PM 12 55

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

Secretariat

S/S-S *1*  
S/S-O  
S/S-Screener *(3)*  
S/S-EX  
S/S-CMS  
S/S-O DIR  
MilRep  
Digest  
Task Force

Principals and  
"S" Area

ES  
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USC

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S/GOV  
S/IL  
S/P  
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S/R  
U/CF *X*  
U/PW  
J/PM  
J/WP

Geographic

AF *5*  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 10  
NEA 8

Functional

CU  
E 2  
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INR *6*  
IO *4*  
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Other

WH 10  
VP  
DOD *p*  
CIA *p*  
USIA *4 p*  
PC

Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2  
TRSY 6  
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0170

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By *MW* NARA Date *10/5/03*

75



Department of State <sup>POL 27-9 BIADRA-NIGERIA</sup>  
**TELEGRAM**

SECRET 067

PAGE 01 GENEVA 02634 261523Z

54.  
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01/071 W

090658

O R 261500Z JUL 68  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2634

S E C R E T GENEVA 2034

LINDIS

STATE FOR U/CF

LAGOS FOR OLSON FROM PEMUSON

SUBJECT: LSM MEETING

REF: LAGOS 6719

APPRECIATE THAT 2 - 3 DAYS DELAY MAY BE UNAVOIDABLE.  
TURBY

GENEVA-2634  
7-26 69

SECRET

0171

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S

TOP SECRET

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POST 6200A

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(Time Received)

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DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

Secretariat

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MilRep  
Digest  
Task Force

Principals and "S" Area

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S/FW  
S/GOV  
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U/CF X  
U/PW  
J/PM  
J/WP

Geographic

AF 5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 10  
NEA 8

Functional

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Other

WH 10  
VP  
DOD  
CIA  
USIA 4  
PC

Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

TRSY 6  
FRB  
EXIM  
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WHRE

AGR 3

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NASA

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File

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2/10/69

0172

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Authority VND 954/543  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

45



Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria  
XR Pol 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 098

PAGE 01 LAGOS 06720 261419Z

52  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03,

AID 28, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCA 01, SCS 04, RSR 01, /158 W  
----- 090374

R 261218Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7987  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

SECRET LAGOS 6720

SUBJECT: PROPOSED BRITISH MISSION TO OJUKWU

1. UK HIGH COMMISSIONER HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO ADVISE GOWON THAT HMG IS THINKING OF SENDING MACDONALD AND LORD HUNT, ACCOMPANIED BY AN OFFICIAL, ON VISIT TO BIAFRA "TO EXPLORE OJUKWU'S THINKING ON POLITICAL ISSUES AS WELL AS ON THE RELIEF PROBLEM." BRITISH CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT OBTAIN OJUKWU'S DIRECT VIEWS ON ATTITUDE TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS AND A POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT.
2. HMG INSTRUCTIONS STRESS THAT MISSION WOULD NOT REPRESENT ANY CHANGE IN POLICY SUPPORT FMG, NOR IS THERE INTENTION UNDERCUT ANY MOVE WHICH EMPEROR AND OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS MAY MAKE WHEN THEY MEET POPE IN KAMPALA. ALTHOUGH HMG WISHES BE FREE REFER PUBLICLY TO IDEA OF A VISIT BY MACDONALD AND LORD HUNT IN NEAR FUTURE, THERE NO REPEAT NO FIRM PLANS OR PROPOSALS ON A DATE FOR SUCH MISSION AT THIS TIME.
3. GOWON WILL BE ASKED UNDERSTAND HMG BELIEVES MEETING WITH OJUKWU NECESSARY IN ORDER DEFEND UK NIGERIAN POLICY "AGAINST ATTACK FROM PRO-BIAFRAN ELEMENTS, MANY OF WHOM

(2)

SECRET  
31

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Authority VND959503  
By MW NARA Date 10/5/05

LAGOS 6720  
7/26/69



*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 LAGOS 06720 261419Z

ARE CLAIMING TO SPEAK WITH AUTHORITY BECAUSE OF VISITS  
THEY HAVE MADE TO THE REBEL AREAS."

GGP-3  
OLSON

SECRET

0174

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIA FRA - NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 978

PAGE 01 GENEVA 02631 261252Z

52  
ACTION UCF 03

INFO OCT 01, ID 13, AF 12, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, SCA 01, SCS 04, EUR 17, RSR 01, 152 W 090003

R 261235Z JUL 69  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2801

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 2631

SUBJECT: NIGERIA

FOR U/CF

REF: STATE 123795

1. SEE GENEVA 2450 PARA 9. SEVERAL OTHER ICRC OFFICIALS WERE PRESENT AT THIS MEETING.

2. FREYMOND RESTATED IDEA YESTERDAY IN COURSE GENERAL DISCUSSION WITH FERGUSON. FYI MEETING DID NOT RPT NOT PRODUCE ANY NEW INFO BUT AGAIN INDICATED EXISTENCE FRICTION BETWEEN FREYMOND AND NAVILLE AS ALREADY APPARENT WHEN FREYMOND CALLED ON U/CF ON JULY 15. HE SEEMS FEEL NAVILLE SHOULD HAVE TAKEN TOUGHER LINE IN LAGOS AND ICRC SHOULD NOW USE FULL LEVERAGE ITS CUSTODIANSHIP OF SUPPLIES ETC. IN PRESENT ROUND TURN-OVER TALKS TO OBTAIN CONCESSIONS FROM FMG.  
TUBBY

GENEVA-2631  
7-26-69

CONFIDENTIAL

0175

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Authority VND959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

*Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria*

CONFIDENTIAL 965

PAGE 01 ROME 04685 261230Z

*Er Pol 7 IV Cat*

43  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCA 01, SCS 04, SR 01, ORM 03,

AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 158 W

089918

R 260930Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY ROME  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1724  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 4685

SUBJECT: BIAFRA/NIGERIA

REF: ROME 4650 - *See 87-100*

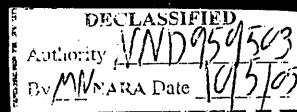
(2) 1. DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR TO SARAGAT INFORMED EMBOFF JULY 26 THAT DURING MEETING BETWEEN TWO PRESIDENTS AT QUIRINALE JULY 21, HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY HAD SPOKEN AT LENGTH ON BIAFRAN SITUATION AND OF HIS DEEPENING CONCERN OVER HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS. HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY HAD EXPRESSED HIS FEAR THAT PARTLY AS RESULT OF THIS PROBLEM AFRICA WAS NOW BEING DIVIDED BETWEEN MOSLEM AND NON-MOSLEM CHRISTIAN STATES, WITH FORMER BEING SUPPORTED BY RUSSIA AND LATTER BY VARIOUS WESTERN POWERS, PARTICULARLY FRANCE AND UK. REGARDING PROSPECTS FOR SETTLEMENT OF BIAFRAN QUESTION, HOUPHOUET DOUBTED THAT HAILE SELASSIE WOULD BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE VERY MUCH. HOUPHOUET HAD SAID THAT IVORY COAST AND SEVERAL OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES, WHICH HAD BEEN MUCH DISILLUSIONED BY U THANT'S REFUSAL TO INVOLVE UN IN QUESTION, WOULD SEEK TO INSCRIBE BIAFRA ON GENERAL ASSEMBLY AGENDA THIS FALL. HOUPHOUET REQUESTED ITALIAN SUPPORT FOR THIS MOVE.

2. ACCORDING TO SARAGAT'S DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR, FOREIGN MINISTER NENNI

CONFIDENTIAL

21

0176







Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ROME 04685 261230Z

HAD MADE GENERAL REPLY TO HOUPHOUET'S STATEMENT, INDICATING  
THAT LACK OF ITALIAN GOVERNMENT AT THIS TIME MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE  
FOR GOI TO MAKE ANY DECISIONS. HOWEVER, NENNI INDICATED THAT  
IVORY COAST REQUEST WOULD BE GIVEN CONSIDERATION WHEN NEW  
GOVERNMENT FORMED. GP-4.  
ACKLEY

CONFIDENTIAL

0177

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Authority	VND959503
By	MW/MARA Date 10/5/05



INDICATE:  
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TELEGRAM NIGERIA

POC 27-9 BIAFRA-  
123797

07

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: US Mission GENEVA

INFO: Amembassy COTONOU  
Amembassy LAGOS

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

1. Herzog and Wyatt (BALAIR) came into Department 24 July to discuss "C-97 maintenance." Attending meeting were U/CF, AID, AF and DOD representatives.
2. Herzog took meeting for guided tour BALAIR's C-97 program from its inception. Wyatt then discussed maintenance and supply problems, mostly radio and radar. During meeting BALAIR reps assured that when insurmountable problems faced on the question of maintenance or supply we will try to lend what assistance possible.
3. Meeting basically an updating of info on both sides with BALAIR reps giving overall ringing affirmation of value of C-97's.
4. FYI: Outside, and in brief reference inside meet-

DRAFTED BY:  
U/CF: DDawson

DRAFTING DATE  
7/25/69

TEL. EXT.  
4529

APPROVED BY:  
U/CF: Arthur E. Dewey

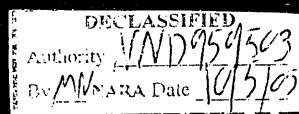
CLEARANCES:  
DOD/ISA - Col. Hamilton (phone)  
AFR/CWA - Mr. North (Phone)  
AF/W - Mr. Stokes

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FORM DS-322  
4-68

0178





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ACTION: TO GENEVA - PAGE 2

ing, overtures were made on behalf ICRC for two more C-97's, ostensibly because of economies due to fixed costs (ground crews, for example) remaining more or less constant while flying more aircraft. Dewey explained that this matter was deferred for both JCA, ICRC. Point could be raised again if ICRC resumes flights. END FYI.

END

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY:

DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

APPROVED BY:

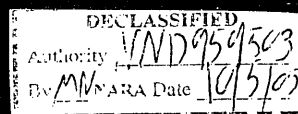
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0179



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 PCL 27-9 BIARRA-  
 Department of State NIGERIA 23795

TELEGRAM

B37

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ACTION: US Mission GENEVA

INFO: Amembassy LIBREVILLE

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

1. Dr. Fareed, Aid to Biafran Children, in recent visit to U/CF mentioned contacting ICRC officials in Geneva concerning release part of idle ICRC air fleet for use French Red Cross out of Libreville. Unfortunately he was vague on names and details.

2. Request any info on whom Fareed might have seen, any indication ICRC reaction to proposal.

END

RICHARDSO.

 DRAFTED BY:  
 U/CF: AEDewey
DRAFTING DATE  
7/25/69TEL. EXT.  
8835
 APPROVED BY:  
 U/CF: Stephen C. Schott

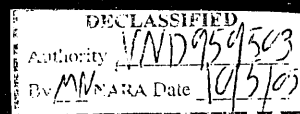
CLEARANCES: PRR/PRDS/VAD - Mr. Kresge

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 FORM DS-322  
 4-68

0180



37



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Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

123700

*37*

INDICATE:  
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☐ CHARGE TO

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USINT

ACTION: ~~Amembassy~~ SANTA ISABEL

INFO: Amembassy COTONOU  
Amembassy LAGOS  
USMission GENEVA (FOR FERGUSON)

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: Food Assessment

1. Subject your concurrence, U/CF desires staff member Thomas accompany, assist Gerald Bradley, FFP, on PL 480 relief food assessment survey. Bradley commences survey Cotonou July 29, subsequent itinerary Fernando Po, Sao Tome not firm.

END

RICHARDSON

123789

DRAFTED BY: AEDewey - U/CF	DRAFTING DATE 7/25/69	TEL. EXT. 8835	APPROVED BY: U/CF: Stephen C. Schott
CLEARANCES: AF/CW - Mr. Schaufele <i>DBD</i>			

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FORM DS-322  
4-68

0181

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By: *MV* NARA Date: *10/5/03*

66



POL 27-9 BIAFRA- NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 514

PAGE 01 LAGOS 06706 260735Z

19  
ACTION AID 28

INFO OCT 01, RSR 01, RSC 01, UCF 05, AF 12, DODE 00, IGA 02, SR 01, ORM 03,

IO 13, /067 W

088368

R 251637Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7980

UNCLAS LAGOS 6706

SUBJECT: RELIEF AND REHABILITATION: EXCESS  
PROPERTY

REF: STATE 121480

DOLLARS 22,445 ADMINISTRATIVELY RESERVED PER REFTEL.

REQUEST AID/W ENSURE PAS OR OTHER OBLIGATING  
DOCUMENTS ISSUED THEREFORE AND FORWARDED TO MISSION.  
MATHEWS

Stamps 6706  
7-25-69

1

UNCLASSIFIED

0182

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Authority VMD 9503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

Page 6689  
7-25-69

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 06689 251653Z

47  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 17, AID 28, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01,  
ORM 03, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,  
INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, RSR 01, 146 W  
082529

P R 251523Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7971  
INFO USMISSION GENEVA  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 6689

SUBJECT: PRESS REPORTS OF ICRC HANDOVER TO FMG

REF: STATE 122457

DEPT ATTENTION CALLED TO LAGOS 6656 WHICH  
CROSSED WITH REFTEL. AS INDICATED, OMO BARE MISQUOTED  
BY KADUNA PRESS, AND MODALITIES AND TIMING OF HANDOVER  
STILL UNDECIDED.  
EXEMPT  
MATHEWS

①

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32

0183

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Authority VND 959503  
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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PC 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02616 252006Z

91  
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, AID 28, EUR 17, UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, 7  
ORM 03, E 15, ACDA 16, TRSY 11, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, YNR 07, 9  
L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, DOT 12, 6  
RSR 01, /206 W

R 251440Z JUL 69  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2287  
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

083974

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STATE FOR U/CF AND AID/NIGERIA HAVEN NORTH

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA-BCG CAMPAIGN

REF: LETTER HELEN WILSON TO GUTMAN 6-24 (RECEIVED 7-17)

1. HAD VERY BRIEF CALL FROM DR. GRASSET. SHE WANTED MAKE SURE APPROXIMATELY \$110,000 BALANCE LEFT FROM ORIGINAL \$620,000 COULD BE USED FOR BCG CAMPAIGN IN BIAFRA. ADVISED HER THAT THIS PROJECT HAD BEEN PART OF OBJECTIVES OF GRANT AND COULD BE UTILIZED THIS PURPOSE SUBJECT AGREEMENT ICRC, OF COURSE.

2. DR. GRASSET HAS LOCATED TURKISH BCG EXPERT WHO HAS EXTENSIVE BACKGROUND LARGE SCALE CAMPAIGNS.

3. DR. GRASSET EXPECTS STOP IN GENEVA ENROUTE TO BIAFRA IN APPROXIMATELY TWO WEEKS AND WILL CALL ON US FOR DETAILED DISCUSSION.

4. QUICK CHECK WITH ICRC INDICATES APPROXIMATELY 30,000 DOSES BCG LEFT AT COTONOU. THEY WILL BE SHIPPED TO ULI ON NEXT ICRC FLIGHT (HOPEFULLY ONE-TIME NIGHT FLIGHT CONSENTED BY FMG).

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GENEVA 2616  
7-15 6 7

0184

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Authority VND 959503  
By MW NARA Date 10/5/05





*Department of State*

**TELEGRAM**

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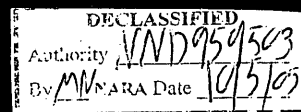
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 02616 2 2006Z

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TUBBY

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66  
OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
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25 JUL 69 23 42Z

(THIS IS TWO PAGE MSG)

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

Info:

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY  
Amembassy LONDON  
Amembassy PARIS  
US Mission GENEVA  
USUN

LIMDIS

STATE

1. Department wishes in view HIMs interest and involvement Nigerian question inform him latest developments relief problem and, if possible, enlist IEG assistance in getting FMG to conference table in Geneva on cross river. Background this initiative has been repeated septel.
2. To be objective we have to acknowledge that even if Geneva meeting takes place, chances of achieving a large degree of agreement between two sides on technical aspects of cross river route are not encouraging. Nevertheless we feel that since both sides accept route in principle, we should endeavor to work out acceptable modalities in hope that success on technical side might encourage FMG to find ways of meeting its security problem on river, thus speeding up implementation of water route. Geneva site not excluded nor favored by either party but represents reasonable compromise between original proposals made by each. Biafrans insisted on Washington or New York and FMG on African pro-FMG site.
3. Unless you consider it inadvisable request you see Ketema and/or HIM and

Drafted by: CRM  
AF: CRM Moore/U/C/S/Scott

Tel. Ext.  
5374

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by: AF - Ambassador Newsom

Clearances:

AF/W - RMelbourne

SECRET/LIMDIS

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0186

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VMD 954543  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

PAGE(S) MISSING IN ORIGINAL

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MMNARA Date 10/5/05

75



POL 27-9 BIAFRA. NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 THE HA 02824 261010Z

18  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04

H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 14

UCF 05, UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 158 W  
\*\*\*\*\* 089155

P 251005Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4246  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION GENEVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE THE HAGUE 2824

REF: THE HAGUE 2805

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: LUNS VISIT TO NIGERIA

1. FONOFF (VAN GROEP, IN CHARGE OF SUB-SAHARA AFRICA)  
HAS INFORMED US THAT LUNS HAS ASKED DUTCH AMBASSADOR IN  
LAGOS TO ARRANGE DISCUSSIONS WITH APPROPRIATE NIGERIAN  
AUTHORITIES DURING HIS 45 MINUTE STOP IN LAGOS JULY 28.  
THERE HAS AS YET BEEN NO REPLY FROM DUTCH EMBASSY IN  
LAGOS AS TO POSSIBILITY OF ARRANGING DISCUSSIONS.

2. VAN GROEP ADDED THAT LUNS WILL RETURN DIRECTLY TO  
EUROPE FROM YAOUNDE. DECON 8-1-70.  
BROWN

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0188

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MNA Date 10/5/05

66

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

124091

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

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Origin

ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA

Info:

STATE

25 JUL 69 23 40Z

1. Following is text of letter dated July 15, 1969 to  
Dr. Okoi Arikpo, Nigerian Commissioner for External  
Affairs, Lagos: BEGIN QUOTE:

Dear Dr. Arikpo:

On June 18, I received a letter from the "Biafran"  
Special Representative in New York, stating that his  
authorities accepted the new relief route. In a subse-  
quent letter, dated June 20, from the Special Representa-  
tive, it was pointed out that agreement was "in principle"  
and that negotiations should be held as soon as possible  
to work out the technical problems of operation of the  
route.

On the question of negotiations, I again state my pre-  
paredness to offer my good offices in arranging a site  
for the talks and such further assistance as is desired  
by the parties. I have, therefore, expressed to the

Drafted by:

U/CF:RDavidson 7/25/69

Tel. Ext. 4529

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

U/CF: Arthur E. Dewey

Clearances:

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Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0189

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Authority: VIND 959503  
By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/03

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Origin

ACTION:

Info:

TO ADDIS ABABA - PAGE 2

"Biafran" Special Representative the Federal Military Government's rejection of Washington and New York as sites. The Special Representative on his part has rejected Addis Ababa and Accra. I therefore exhort both parties to consider urgently and seriously Monrovia and Geneva as alternative sites. I would appreciate hearing from you at the earliest possible opportunity whether the Federal Military Government could agree to either or both of these sites.

I have also reminded the "Biafran" Special Representative that the actual operation of the vessels is under the authority of the International Committee of the Red Cross which will assume the responsibilities of humanitarian protector and guarantor of the operation. I stated to the Special Representative in a letter transmitted July 1, 1969, that: "The United States Government has full confidence in the assurances given by both

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

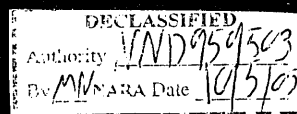
Clearances:

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Classification

FORM DS-322  
8-65

0190



# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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Origin  
Info:

ACTION: TO ADDIS ABABA - PAGE 3

parties with respect to the safety and security of the  
ships on the route. For its part, this Government  
will support fully the efforts of the ICRC to main-  
tain such safety and security." Sincerely,  
C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr. END QUOTE.

END

RICHARDSO

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Clearances:		

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*Classification*

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0191

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Authority VND 959503  
By MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

1 2 3 7 9 6

*Handwritten initials: W B*

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy COTONOU  
INFO: Amembassy LAGOS  
Amembassy SANTA ISABEL  
US Mission GENEVA (FOR FERGUSON)

25 JUL 69 21 30Z

123796

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: Food Assessment

REF: (A) Cotonou 786, (B) Cotonou 789

1. Concur Thomas accompany, assist Gerald Bradley on PL 480 Food Assessment survey in Cotonou, Sao Tome. Clearance being requested also accompany to Fernando Po.
2. FOR THOMAS: Plan meet Bradley in Cotonou July 29, RK Flight 510, 10:10 AM. Re reftel B, there is no letter. You are not to enter enclave. If there are further press inquiries, you should inform them of these two points.

END

RICHARDSOI

(4)

DRAFT U/CF: AEDewey

DRAFTING DATE 7/25/69

TEL. EXT. 8835

APPROVED BY: U/CF: Stephen S. Schott

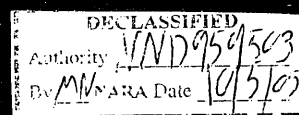
CLEARANCES: AF/CW - Mr. Schaufelberger

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

FORM DS-322  
4-68

0 1 9 2







POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
XR SOC 3 RED CROSS

CONFIDENTIAL 156

PAGE 01 COTONO 00791 251654Z

53  
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03,  
SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28, E 15, UPW 01, RSR 01, 150 W  
082537

P R 251415Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2295  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONOU 791

DEPT FOR U/CF FROM THOMAS

SUBJ: RSM

1. MET AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER LAGOS WHO VISITING COTONOU TO SURVEY RELIEF EFFORTS. AUSTRALIA HAS GIVEN \$100,000 IN RELIEF FUNDS TO ICRC EARMARKED FOR FMG. THEY ALSO GAVE \$300,000 WORTH OF FLOUR WHICH COULD NOT BE USED IN NIGERIA BECAUSE FEW IF ANY BAKERIES AND FLOUR ROTTED BEFORE PUT TO ANY USE.
2. NILS E.G. WACHTMEISTER CHIEF OF ICRC COTONOU AND SANTA ISABLE IS WELL AGAIN AFTER SHORT BOUT WITH MALARIA. HE TO BE RELIEVED 10 AUGUST BY STURZENEGGER (SWISS). WACHTMEISTER IS SWEDISH AND SAYS SINCE VON ROSEN MINI-BOMBER INCIDENT SWEDISH PRESTIGE IS AT ALL TIME LOW IN NIGERIA SO ICRC CHANGING SWEDISH DIRECTOR FOR SWISS.
3. ICRC COTONOU READY ON TWELVE (12) HOUR NOTICE MAKE EMERGENCY ONE-SHOT RELIEF FLIGHT INTO BIAFRA. FLIGHT(S) WILL TAKE IN PRIORITY MEDICINE AND FOOD BASED ON AVAILABLE SPACE AND NUMBER OF FLIGHTS AGREED ON.
4. PERSONNEL BEING PICKED UP BIAFRA ARE NOT RPT NOT BEING WITHDRAWN BUT BEING REPLACED BY OTHER ICRC PERSONNEL AS CONTRACTS EXPIRE.

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0193

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Authority VND 959503  
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 COTONO 00791 251654Z

5. ICRC HOPES GET FIFTY (50) TONS MEDICINE AND FOOD ON EMERGENCY FLIGHT(S) PLUS THEIR PERSONNEL. IF POSSIBLE THEY PLAN USE TWO C-97 AND ONE DC-6.

6. THERE SOME DOUBTS AND FEARS CONCERNING REQUIREMENT ICRC ONE-SHOT EMERGENCY FLIGHT STOP LAGOS PRIOR RETURNING COTONOU FROM BIAFRA PER PRESENT AGREEMENT.

7. ICRC OFFICIALS ESTIMATE ANY INSPECTION RELIEF SUPPLIES NIGERIA PRIOR TO ENTERING ENCLAVE WILL CUT NUMBER OF FLIGHTS TWO-THIRDS RPT TWO-THIRDS AND EACH PLANE WOULD BE HELD TO ONE RPT ONE FLIGHT PER NIGHT. ALSO THERE IS ADDITIONAL PROBLEM THAT ANY INSPECTION LAGOS WOULD HAVE TO BE BETWEEN 9:00A.M. AND 6:00 P.M. ICRC WANTS TO MAKE NIGHT FLIGHTS.

8. PLEASE NOTE OPERATIONAL CHANGES AIRCRAFT COTONOU:

- (1) ILX ETD GVA 7/24 0600 VIA BEN/LPA/DXR
- (2) GBK (BEECHCRAFT) COO/LBV/COO 7/24
- (3) ERO OPS SSG
- (4) ERR ENROUTE GVA/STO
- (5) ERS ENROUTE ADE/GVA/MAD/SSG

9. ACCORDING AKRELL OF ICRC ITS PRESTIGE LOW IN ENCLAVE AS BIAFRANS CONSIDER THEM COWARDS FOR NOT CONTINUING RELIEF FLIGHTS AS JCA IS DOING BUT ICRC OFFICIALS SAY THEY HAVE TO FOLLOW ORDERS FROM GENEVA.

10. ICRC OFFICIALS COTONOU OF OPINION ONE-SHOT EMERGENCY RELIEF FLIGHT(S) WILL BE AT NIGHT AND POSSIBLY THIS WEEKEND.

LOORAM

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0194

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05

37

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

## OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA - 123842  
NIGERIA  
B  
25 JUL 69 21 59Z  
FOR OC/T USE ONLY

Origin	ACTION: ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS
Info	Amembassy BONN COPENHAGEN DUBLIN THE HAGUE HELSINKI LISBON LONDON OSLO OTTAWA ROME PARIS
	US MISSION GENEVA STOCKHOLM

INFO: USUN

LIMDIS

JOINT STATE/USIA MESSAGE

SUBJECT: Public Opinion on Nigerian Civil War

1. Department would appreciate addressee posts impression of course of public opinion in respective countries over past year on subject Nigerian civil war.
2. Specifically it requests information on:
  - A) attitudes on political issues of war and form ultimate result should take;
  - B) attitudes on relief issues, their importance, and relative degree fault ascribed to Nigeria/Biafra, including where applicable breadth or cyclical nature of public participation in relief fund campaigns.
3. What degree of interest in Nigerian war and relief activities is now shown by local media and principal contacts?

RICHARDSON

Order by:	AF/P:RLPerkins:mb 7/25/69	Tel. Est.	2105	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:	AF/W - Mr. Melbourne
Clearances:	EUR/P - Mr. Jerabek	USIA/IAA - Mr. Hedges			

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0195

 DECLASSIFIED  
 Authority: VIND 959503  
 By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05

46

July 25, 1969

Honorable Richard Bolling  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Congressman Bolling:

We share your deep concern over the interruption in the flow of badly needed relief supplies to civilian victims of the Nigerian civil war. We want to assure you that the United States Government is exerting every effort to bring about a resumption of relief.

Ambassador C. Clyde Ferguson, the Special Coordinator for Nigerian Relief, is in Europe on a mission aimed at breaking the present logjam on relief shipments. His schedule calls for meetings with His Holiness Pope Paul VI, with Mr. Marcel Naville, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross and with French and British officials.

We cannot at this time predict the outcome of these talks, but the U.S. Government is determined to pursue every effort to bring about early agreement on arrangements that will ease the plight of the civilian victims. We are seeking, for example, early agreement on daylight flights and surface corridors for relief shipments to the Biafran enclave. We continue to stress the advantages of the Cross River route, a proposal worked out by Ambassador Ferguson after extensive logistical surveys of possible relief routes into the enclave.

①

Under Secretary Elliot Richardson, in testimony on July 15 before the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees, set out U.S. policy in this crisis. A copy is enclosed for your study.

WCF: J Pope  
7-22-69

POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

0196

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/00

- 2 -

We appreciate your interest in this vital question and welcome any ideas and advice you may have to offer in carrying out our humanitarian mission.

Sincerely yours,

William B. Macomber, Jr.  
Assistant Secretary  
for Congressional Relations

Enclosure:  
Under Secretary Richardson's Statement 7/15/69

Clearance: *SCS*  
U/CF - SCSchott

*JP*  
U/CF:JPope:ljp:7/22/69 X-4529

S/S No. 10698

*21-88h*

0197

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 950/503
By	MM/NARA Date 10/5/03

FORM DS-1563  
12-63

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

**ACTION SLIP**  
(To Remain With Correspondence)

CONTROL NO.

10698

TO  
U/CF - Mr. Thomas

DATE  
July 15, 1969

SUBJECT  
Ltr to S fm Richard Bolling (MC) dtd 7/7/69

**ACTION**

\*Prompt handling is essential. Return basic correspondence with reply. If delayed call telephone extension below.

For appropriate action.

For direct reply. Comeback copy required \_\_\_\_\_.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX A response for signature by ~~Mr~~ H - Amb. Macomber  
Prepare reply. Clear with \_\_\_\_\_.

Prepare a \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_.

Refer to White House request of \_\_\_\_\_.

Due in ~~XXXXX~~ H by 7/17/69  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

For your information.

REMARKS

Action transferred from AF

COPIES TO

H - Mr. Grant (w/att)  
S - Mr. Okun (w/att)  
AF - Mr. Alexander (w/att)

Wingate Lloyd  
SECRETARIAT STAFF  
EXT. 4735

0198

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VMD 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

RICHARD BOLLING  
5TH DISTRICT, MISSOURI

COMMITTEES:  
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE  
RULES

WES BARTHELMES  
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

# Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

July 7, 1969

LARRY BODINSON  
SECRETARY  
KANSAS CITY SERVICE OFFICE  
811 GRAND AVENUE  
VICTOR 2-4798

ACTION  
is assigned to

10698

Honorable William P. Rogers  
The Secretary  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am writing you to express my concern at the latest grave turn of events in Nigeria/Biafra. I know that there are matters that are beyond the power of the United States Government to affect. However, I want to urge that every continuing effort be made to resolve the problem of transportation and distribution of food to the victimized civilian population in that area. I, also, of course, realize that you have not been inattentative to this matter.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Richard Bolling*  
Richard Bolling

RECEIVED  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1969 JUL 9 AM 11 00

RS/AN  
ANALYSIS BRANCH

16644

Os 2 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

②  
7/9/69

0199

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Authority VNI 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

**OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State**

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

**SECRET**

## Classification

124374  
A-B  
25 JUL 69 23 26Z

### Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
~~XXXXXXXXXX DO NOT TYPE PAST THIS LINE XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

**Info:**

INFO : USMission GENEva  
Amembassy LONDON  
Amembassy PARIS  
USUN  
Amembassy ADDIS ABABA

STATE

GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

SUBJ : LSM Meeting of Experts in Geneva

REF : Lagos 6674

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM ACTING SECRETARY

Request Ambassador seek immediate appointment with General Gowon  
and make following points:

1. Unwillingness of FMG to agree to a technical meeting in Geneva to discuss Cross River route with secessionist representatives is great disappointment to USG. We urgently request Gowon to reconsider decision.
2. President Nixon's letter of July 15 reflected US friendship for Nigeria, understanding its problems, and deep concern over suffering of civil war. President pointed out in frank and friendly manner that actions of General Gowon and his Government with ~~xxx~~ respect to saving lives, repeatedly termed innocent Nigerians, cannot fail to have profound impact on international community and FMG's future relationship in that community.

Drafted by:

AF: C<sup>Moore</sup>Moore/U/CF: SC<sup>Schott</sup>Schott

Tel. Ext.  
**5208**

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

AF - Amb. Newsom

**Clearances:**

U - Mr. Ruser *P.W.R.* S/S *M* - Mr. Gleysteen AF/W - Mr. *M* Melbourne

SECRET

### Classification

FORM DS-322  
8-65

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Authority VND 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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will

Geneva

### Classification

FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

0201

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Authority: VND 950/503  
By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

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Origin  
Info:

ACTION:

Page 3

Geneva as incomprehensible in light urgency of ~~m~~ exploring all means of breaking relief impasse. Such a decision could also vitiate helpfulness of Gowon's very welcome statement July 18 that ~~FMG~~ <sup>FMG</sup> did not regard starvation as legitimate weapon against rebels. FMG must help its friends ~~[showing magnanimity on relief arrangements, compatible of course, with its real security requirements.]~~ by showing ~~magn~~ magnanimity on relief arrangements, compatible of course, with its real security requirements.

6. We believe FMG should be aware that various influences being brought to bear may lead secessionists to announce their agreement to Geneva venue at any moment. We would urge that FMG not allow itself to be placed in unfavorable light by refusal to accept a compromise venue.

~~that we would like to consider~~

~~END~~

7. If Gowon shows disposition to reconsider decision, suggest you tell him that in consideration of this fact we ~~m~~ would like to consider that FMG decision on Geneva venue is in abeyance.

END

RICHARDSO

Drafted by:	Tel. Ext.	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:
Clearances:		

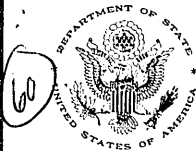
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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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Authority: <u>VND 959503</u>
By: <u>MV NARA</u> Date: <u>10/5/03</u>

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*POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 501

PAGE 01 GENEVA 02619 252027Z

82-S  
ACTION SS 30

**ACTION COPY**

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, CCO 00, NSCE 00, /031 W

084171

O 251545Z JUL 69 ZFF-1  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2290

S E C R E T GENEVA 2619

EXDIS

FOR ACTING SECSTATE FROM FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRAN

CALLED ON CARSON BLAKE (WCC) AT HIS REQUEST. AFTER  
30 MINUTES INNOCUOUS CONVERSATION, BLAKE ASKED IF  
DEPARTMENT SERIOUS ABOUT POWER TALKS. REPEATED SUBSTANCE OF  
RICHARDSON STATEMENT FOUR POWER TALKS. BLAKE THEN SAID HE HAS  
WORD FROM GOOD SOVIET SOURCE THAT SOVS WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF  
DEPARTMENT SERIOUS ABOUT NEW SOVIET/USG COOPERATION IN RE NIGERIA  
/BIAFRA, THAT BLAKE KNOWS INFO VALID AND THAT HE AND SOURCE  
MUST BE PROTECTED. BLAKE THEN SAID WOULD BE GLAD TO DISCUSS  
FURTHER WITH FERGUSON LATER ON UNDERSTANDING COMPLETE  
PROTECTION. FERGUSON PROMISED TO BE IN CONTACT BLAKE LATER.  
TUBBY

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

0203

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Authority VMD 959503  
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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S/S	8-9	Classification SECRET	Secy
S/S-Screener	28-30	Post GENEVA	<i>[Signature]</i> Dpty
S/S-S-CMS	31	Serial No. 2619	
S/S-O	11	Date 7/25/69	

PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
S	✓ 4	AF	✓ 14-15
U	✓ 5 6	ARA	
J	✓ 7	EA	
D		EUR	✓ 16
C	✓ 10	NEA	
J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/P		White House ✓ 2/3	
S/CPR		Vice President	
U/CF ✓ 12		Defense ✓ 17	
		State Rep ✓ 18	
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		CIA ✓ 19	
E		ACDA	
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INR ✓ 13		AID/VN	
IO		USIA	
L		NSA	
O		Treasury	
P			
		OTHER	
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1/28/69

0204

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Authority VND 959/503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



*Col 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria*

Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 804

PAGE 01 LAGOS 06695 261018Z

14  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04,

UPW 01, SSD 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, RSR 01, /146 W  
089232

PAR 251618Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7973  
USMISSION GENEVA  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USUN NEW YORK 1069

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 6695

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF USE OF LSM'S

REF: A) STATE 123045; B) LAGOS 6662

GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

1. RE: PARA 2 REFTEL A, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT USE LSMS ON FEDERAL SIDE HAS IN ANY WAY AFFECTED FMG DECISION NOT REPEAT NOT PARTICIPATE NEGOTIATIONS GENEVA NOR DO WE BELIEVE (PARA 3 REFTEL A) THAT FMG HAS INTENT CREATE DE FACTO SITUATION WITH OBJECT SIDELINING CROSS RIVER ROUTE. OUR ENDORSEMENT ICRC INITIATIVE FOR USE LSMS WITHIN FEDERAL CONTROLLED AREA HAS STEMMED FROM TWO CONSIDERATIONS. FIRST, UNACCEPTABILITY TO NIGERIAN PUBLIC OF LSMS PLYING UP CROSS RIVER TO IKOT OKPORD IS MATTER OF REAL CONCERN TO FMG WHICH REFLECTS ON USE OF LSMS ANYWHERE. THIS HAS CAUSED CALL BY PARTS OF PRESS WHICH ENDORSED BY INDIVIDUALS IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS EGIASSY OFFICERS, TO SENDING LSMS OUT OF NIGERIA. OUR THOUGHT WAS TO MAKE LSMS GRADUALLY ACCEPTABLE BY STEPS WHICH WOULD LEAD TO THEIR USE UP RIVER TO NWAMIBA, THUS GETTING SOUTHEASTERNERS ACCUSTOMED TO THE VESSEL AND DISABUSING THEM OF INSTILLED IDEA THAT SHIPS ARE TROJAN HORSES. SECOND WAS GENUINE NEED FOR SHIP TRANSPORT TO MOVE RECENTLY ARRIVED STOCKPILE.

CONFIDENTIAL

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2. CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN ICRC AND OMO BARE, COMMISSIONER RELIEF AND REHABILITATION, LED TO HIS AGREEMENT FOR USE OF VESSELS AS FAR AS CALABAR. WE BELIEVE THAT INTRODUCTION OF LSMS TO CALABAR, HOPEFULLY, SECOND VOYAGE, WOULD BE REAL STEP IN GAINING ACCEPTABILITY TO USE OF VESSELS UP RIVER TO NWANIBA. WE CONTINUING TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITY FMG AGREEMENT TO STOCKFISH. IN MEANTIME THERE NEED TO MOVE USE OF VESSEL TO PORT HARCOURT WILL NOT REPEAT NOT IN OUR JUDGMENT AFFECT POSSIBILITY SHIPS BEING SENT TO CALABAR ON SECOND TRIP OR EVEN TO NWANIBA.

3. ANOTHER FACTOR WHICH SEEMS TO US OF SOME CONSIDERATION ALTHOUGH NOT OVERRIDING IS FACT SHIPS CONSPICUOUS IN PORT, ARE EXPENSIVE WITH COST RUNNING ABOUT \$2000 PER SHIP PER DAY, FOR WHICH NO REPEAT NO RETURN BEING RECEIVED. STRIKES US THAT IN EVENT OF DOMESTIC CRITICISM (WHICH WE HOPE WILL NOT ARISE) WOULD BE WELL TO BE ABLE TO DEMONSTRATE SHIPS HAD BEEN USEFULLY EMPLOYED.

4. WHILE NOT REPEAT NOT DISASTROUS, SUDDEN CANCELLATION ICRC PLANS WHICH COORDINATED WITH OMO BARE COULD IN ITSELF COMPLICATE DIFFICULTIES WITH FMG WHICH WOULD BE HARD PUT TO UNDERSTAND REVERSAL ICRC DECISION.

5. INFO REQUESTED PARA 5 STATE 123045 WILL BE REPORTED SEPARATELY. GP-4

MATHEWS

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*Ref 27-9 Biafra. Nigeria*  
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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00,  
DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,  
SS 20, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, /112 W  
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O R 251205Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7959  
USMISSION GENEVA  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USUN NY

S E C R E T LAGOS 6674

GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

SUBJ: LSMS - MEETING OF EXPERTS IN GENEVA

REF: LAGOS-6588

1. EMBASSY HAS AFTERNOON WR JULY RECEIVED REPLY SIGNED BY DEPUTY PERMSEC ENAHORO FOR PERMSEC MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, DATED 23 JULY TO FERGUSON'S LETTERS OF 15 AND 20 JULY 1969.

2. QUOTE. RECEIPT IS ACKNOWLEDGED OF MR. CLYDE FERGUSON'S LETTERS OF 15TH AND 20TH JULY, 1969, ADDRESSED TO MY COMMISSIONER. IT IS REGRETTED THAT A MEETING IN GENEVA IS UNACCEPTABLE AS WE CAN SEE NO REASON WHY A PURELY FUNCTIONAL MEETING OF EXPERTS CANNOT BE CONVENED IN ANY ACCEPTABLE WEST AFRICAN COUNTRY. WE STAND BY THE PREVIOUS ASSURANCES GIVEN TO YOU AND TO MR. FERGUSON HIMSELF THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO SEND OUR EXPERTS TO DISCUSS THE CROSS RIVER ROUTE WITH THE REBEL REPRESENTATIVES AT ANY AGREED AFRICAN CAPITAL. UNQUOTE.

*LAGOS 6674  
7/25/69*

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3. COMMENT: ON RECEIPT ABOVE WE IMMEDIATELY SPOKE TO ENAHORO POINTING OUT OUR DIFFICULTY RECONCILING NEGATIVE IN NOTE WITH AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH COMMISSIONER ARIKPO (REFTEL) AND ASKED ENAHORO IF MATTER HAD BEEN CHECKED OUT AT HIGHEST LEVEL. ENAHORO WAS QUITE SURE THAT IT HAD BUT AGREED RAISE QUESTION AGAIN WITH ARIKPO IF HE COULD REACH HIM. WE URGED STRONGLY, OF COURSE, THAT FMG AGREE TO GENEVA VENUE POINTING OUT THAT THERE WERE NO SERIOUS DISADVANTAGES FOR MEETING THIS SORT IN GENEVA FROM FMG'S POINT OF VIEW AND THERE WOULD BE ADVANTAGES IF POSITIVE REPLY COULD BE GIVEN FERGUSON REQUEST. ENAHORO SAW LITTLE TO GAIN IN AGREEING TO GENEVA VENUE AND MUCH TO LOSE. HE ARGUED AFRICAN STATES AND OAU FELT STRONGLY ABOUT NIGERIAN MATTER BEING KEPT IN AFRICAN CONTEXT AND THAT THEY WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT UNDERSTAND FMG'S AGREEMENT TO MEETING OUTSIDE AFRICA. FMG DEPENDING HEAVILY ON AFRICAN SUPPORT WHICH WISHES KEEP AND WOULD NOT WISH TAKE ANY STEP WHICH WOULD HAVE ANY EFFECT OF WEAKENING AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR NIGERIAN CAUSE. HE ASKED WHY FERGUSON DID NOT SUGGEST AFRICAN VENUE AND "PUT BEE ON REBEL BACK" TO EXPLAIN WHY THEY UNWILLING ACCEPT.

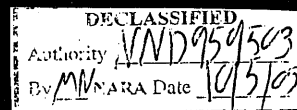
4. SECOND POINT MADE BY ENAHORO WAS THAT WHILE MEETING OF EXPERTS IN GENEVA ON TECHNICAL PROBLEM OF MODALITIES WAS NOT QUITE SAME AS MEETINGS ON PEACE SETTLEMENT, NEVERTHELESS IF FMG AGREED TO GENEVA VENUE FOR THE TECHNICAL MEETING IT WOULD BE PLACED IN FAR MORE DIFFICULT POSITION TO REFUSE MEETING ON POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OUTSIDE AFRICA. APPEARS HE SEES "BIAFRAN" UNWILLINGNESS MEET IN AFRICA AS EFFORT MOVE PROBLEM OUT OF OAU PROVINCE, A POSITION UNACCEPTABLE TO FMG.

5. ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATION NOT REPEAT NOT MENTIONED BY ENAHORO BUT WHICH WE BELIEVE WEIGHS IN FMG DECISION IS FACT PRESENCE MARKPRESS IN GENEVA WHICH FOUNT "BIAFRAN" PROPAGANDA. FMG PROBABLY FEELS THIS CONSTITUTES SERIOUS DISADVANTAGE FOR THEM.

6. FOLLOWING TALK WITH ENAHORO, DCM SAW ENAHORO AND ARIKPO AT AFRIFA RECEPTION, PRESSED FOR REVERSAL DECISION

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AND ARIKPO AGREED TAKE QUESTION UP AT DINNER WITH GOWON.  
WE HAVE JUST NOW BEEN INFORMED BY ENAHORO THAT MATTER WAS  
DISCUSSED BETWEEN ARIKPO AND GOWON AND THE LATTER DECIDED  
TO STAND ON REPLY PARA 2 ABOVE. AMBASSADOR KOLO IS  
BEING INFORMED THIS DECISION BY MINEXTAFF. GP-3.  
MATHEWS

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, UPW 01, CCO 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAS 00,  
NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,  
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28, RSR 01,  
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GENEVA 2617  
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O R 01508Z JUL 69  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2288  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USUN NEW YORK 3367  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

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SECRET GENEVA 2617

REF: LAGOS 6588

1. IN VIEW REPORT REFTEL, FERGUSON PROPOSES AT MEETING WITH HOUPHOUET SUNDAY TO DISCLOSE FMG REJECTION GENEVA AS VENUE. SINCE FRENCH AND IVORY COAST PRESSURE LIKELY TO PRODUCE BIAFRAN DELEGATION ON MONDAY, URGENTLY REQUEST DEPARTMENT INSTRUCTIONS HANDLING MATTER WITH BIAFRANS.
2. FOR LAGOS: FERGUSON NOTES POSITION FMG PARA 2 REFTEL "ANY AGREED AFRICAN CAPITAL" APPARENTLY BROADER THAN PREVIOUS POSITION. ADDIS, MONROVIA OR POSSIBLE ACCRA. WOULD APPRECIATE EMBASSY COMMENT.  
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PO 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, CCO 00, /071 W

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O 241815Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5719

SECRET SECTION 1 OF 3 PARIS 11259

LIMDIS NOFORN

FOR UNDERSECRETARY FROM FERGUSON

DEPARTMENT PASS AS REQUIRED

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

1. SUMMARY. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON, AMBASSADOR SHRIVER AND EMBOFF DISCUSSED NIGERIA/BIAFRA FOR OVER AN HOUR JULY 23 WITH FONMIN SCHUMANN, QUAI SEC GEN ALPHAND, AFRICA DIRECTOR LEBEL AND GIRARD (IN CHARGE OF RELIEF COORDINATION FOR QUAI). DISCUSSION MOVED RAPIDLY FROM GENERALITIES TO SPECIFICS WITH SCHUMANN EXPRESSING SOME RESERVATIONS RE US POLICY BUT FINALLY AGREEING TO SUGGEST THAT BIAFRA BE REPRESENTED AT JULY 28 CROSS RIVER MEETING IN GENEVA. SCHUMANN ALSO INDICATED SUPPORT FOR CROSS RIVER PLAN PER SE AND SAID FRANCE "READY TO HELP" WITH INTERNATIONAL AGENCY TO SUPERVISE RIVER ROUTE. FRENCH DO NOT RPT NOT RULE OUT IDEA OF DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS DIRECT TO BIAFRA FROM OUTSIDE NIGERIA BUT TOUCHING DOWN AT LEAST SYMBOLICALLY ON FMO TERRITORY AFTER LEAVING BIAFRA. FRENCH HAD NO SUGGESTIONS TO OFFER ON POLITICAL SETTLEMENT INITIATIVES.

2. SCHUMANN OPENED DISCUSSION BY COMMENTING THAT THERE HAS AS YET BEEN NO SIGN OF REAL PROGRESS IN RESOLVING NIGERIA/BIAFRA PROBLEM. FERGUSON AGREED, SAID PROBLEM HAS POLITICAL AND RELIEF SIDES, AND THAT RELIEF SITUATION IN BIAFRA WILL PROBABLY GET MUCH WORSE IN MONTH OR SO. UNLESS DEADLOCK ON RELIEF SUPPLIES BROKEN, SITUATION COULD BECOME DESPERATE FOR CHILDREN BECAUSE OF CUMULATIVE PROTEIN DEFICIENCY. PRINCIPAL HOPE OF BREAKING DEADLOCK IS IN AIRLIFT. OTHER HOPES LIES IN

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CROSS RIVER ROUTE.

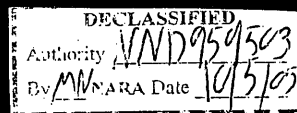
3. SCHUMANN ASKED WHERE CROSS RIVER PLAN STOOD. FERGUSON REPLIED THAT HE HAD SENT LETTER TO BOTH BIAFRA (THROUGH OTUE) THEIR REPRESENTATIVE IN NEW YORK, AND FMG ASKING THEM ATTEND MEETING WITH HIM IN GENEVA ON JULY 28 ON CROSS RIVER. IT APPEARS ALMOST CERTAIN FMG WILL BE REPRESENTED BUT BIAFRA AN UNKNOWN QUANTITY. WE COULD USE SOME HELP IN GETTING BIAFRA TO ATTEND. SCHUMANN WONDERED WHETHER OTHER TOPICS MIGHT ALSO BE DISCUSSED AT GENEVA MEETING. FERGUSON NOTED THAT BIAFRANS HAD TOLD HIM ON THREE OCCASIONS THEY WANTED MEETING AND INTENDED POLITICIZE IT BY DISCUSSING CEASE-FIRE, BUT GENEVA MEETING TECHNICAL ONLY. FERGUSON SAID HE HIMSELF MIGHT HAVE TO WITHDRAW BUT WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO POLITICAL DISCUSSION AND THIS WOULD NOT CAUSE US CALL OFF MEETING. IN REPLY TO SCHUMANN'S QUESTION, LEBEL SAID HE HAD SEEN NO REPORTS OF WHETHER OR NOT BIAFRA WILL BE REPRESENTED. IT WAS NOTED THAT BIAFRA USUALLY HAS SEVERAL REPS IN EUROPE SO LOGISTICS SHOULD NOT POSE PROBLEM.

4. SCHUMANN THEN ASKED HOW PROBLEM OF RELIEF FLIGHTS MIGHT BE RESOLVED, SUGGESTING (AS LEBEL HAD ON JULY 22) THAT BEST APPROACH WOULD BE FOR ICRC TO "CALL FMG BLUFF" AS FRENCH RED CROSS HAS DONE. FERGUSON NOTED FIRM OPPOSITION OF ICRC TO THIS SORT OF SOLUTION, AND HE AND SCHUMANN AND LEBEL REVIEWED BRIEFLY POSITIONS FMG AND BIAFRA ON HAVING FLIGHTS TOUCH DOWN IN FMG TERRITORY. SCHUMANN THEN SAID THERE WILL NEVER BE SOLUTION UNTIL FMG RENOUNCES "USE OF FAMINE AS MILITARY WEAPON" AND THE RELATION OF FORCES ON TWO SIDES BALANCED. SINCE UK AND USSR SO STRONGLY SUPPORT FMG, UNITED STATES SHOULD TAKE GREATER INTEREST IN BIAFRAN SIDE OF CONFLICT THUS SCHIEVEING A BALANCE MAKING MEANINGFUL SOLUTION POSSIBLE.

5. FERGUSON REPLIED THAT IT IS STILL TO BE PROVED THAT FMG HAS DELIBERATE POLICY USING FAMINE DESPITE STATEMENTS BY AWOLOWO AND ENHARO. IT MAY BE TRUE BUT IT NEEDS TO BE TESTED. GOWON SAID THIS WEEK THAT STARVATION IS NOT REPEAT NOT A LEGITIMATE WEAPON AND FMG HAS AGREED TO "SERVICE FLIGHT" OF THREE ICRC AIRCRAFT DIRECT OF BIAFRA FROM COTONU WITH STOP AT LAGOS ON WAY BACK. THIS IS IN FERGUSON'S VIEW, THE ABSOLUTE MINIMUM POSITION OF THE FMG. BIAFRA, OF COURSE, HAS NOT AGREED TO SERVICE FLIGHT. (LEBEL INDICATED TO SCHUMANN AT THIS POINT THAT BIAFRA MIGHT POSSIBLY AGREE BUT HE WAS NOT PRECISE IN

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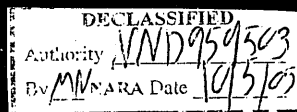
PAGE 03 PARIS 11259 01 OF 03 2419 9Z

HIS COMMENT). FERGUSON ALSO ASSERTED THAT THERE IS HARDLY ANYTHING ELSE THE US CAN DO ON RELIEF TO ACHIEVE A "BALANCE".

6. SCHUMANN SAID TOUCHDOWN ON WAY OUT WOULD TAKE AWAY BIAFRA'S "POISON ARGUMENT" USED AGAINST ANY RELIEF PLANE TOUCHING DOWN IN FMG TERRITORY. HOWEVER, IT WOULD NOT RESOLVE DELAY PROBLEM AND HE THOUGHT FMG WOULD HOLD RELIEF FLIGHTS TO VERY LOW RATE BY SLOWING UP CLEARANCE OF AIRCRAFT RETURNING FROM BIAFRA. AMBASSADOR SHIRVER ASKED SCHUMANN WHY HE AUTOMATICALLY ASSUMED FMG WOULD DELAY CLEARANCES FOR RELIEF AIRCRAFT, WHY NOT SHIRVER

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POL 27-9 C10FRI NIGER 11

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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, CCO 00, /071 W

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O 241815Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5720

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LIMDIS NOFORN

PUT FMG TO THE TEST? FERGUSON ADDED THAT GENEVA WOULD ALSO BE A TEST: AND IF ONE OR OTHER SIDES DOES NOT SHOW UP FOR JULY 22 MEETING WE PROBABLY WILL FEEL CONSTRAINED TO PUBLICIZE IT. HE DESCRIBED THREE MONTHS OF FRUSTRATING, FRUITLESS NEGOTIATIONS PRECEDING OUR DECISION TAKE INITIATIVE AND CALL MEETING. SCHUMANN SAID HE HOPED WE WOULD NOT ALLOW OURSELVES BE PORTRAYED AS FALLING BACK INTO FMG CAMP. THIS COULD ONLY MAKE THINGS WORSE.

7. FERGUSON THEN SAID THAT IF FMG AND BIAFRA ARE EVER GOING TO FIND LASTING SOLUTION TO POLITICAL PROBLEM IT WILL REQUIRE PRACTICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN TWO SIDES WITHIN SINGLE NIGERIA CONTEXT. CONTACTS BETWEEN TWO AND COOPERATION ON RELIEF MATTERS EVEN WHILE WAR STILL GOING ON WOULD BE IMPORTANT FIRST STEP.

8. SCHUMANN SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD OUR POSITION TO BE ONE OF SUPPORT FOR PRINCIPLE OF SINGLE NIGERIA, WITH SOME FORM OF ASSOCIATION AND NECESSARY GUARANTEES FOR IBOS WITHIN SINGLE NIGERIA. HE CONSIDERS THAT BIAFRA IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY UNDERSTOOD AND SUPPORTED, AND CERTAINLY DOES NOT CONSIDER ITSELF TO BE SO, TO ENABLE TO ACCEPT SUCH A SOLUTION. ONLY BY GIVING THEM GREATER ENCOURAGEMENT CAN THEY BE PERSUADED EVENTUALLY TO COME AROUND TO THIS VIEW. STARVATION AND GENOCIDE MUST BE AVOIDED AS ESSENTIAL FIRST STEPS IN PROVIDING THIS ENCOURAGEMENT.

9. FERGUSON REPLIED THAT THIS IS PRECISELY WHY US IS PRESSING HARD FOR AGREEMENT ON ADEQUATE RELIEF ARRANGEMENTS. HOWEVER, QUESTION OF LONG-RANGE FUTURE OF IBOS AND GUARANTEES

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FOR THEIR WELL-BEING CANNOT BE SEPARATED OUT COMPLETELY. THAT IS WHY WE ARE ALSO READY SUPPORT ANY PROMISING INITIATIVE FOR DURABLE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. THE POPE HAS INDICATED A DESIRE TO BE HELPFUL IN SUCH A POLITICAL INITIATIVE AND THIS HAD BEEN MAIN SUBJECT OF CONVERSATION WITH FERGUSON ON JULY 18. EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA HAD MENTIONED SOMETHING OF THIS SORT TO POPE ON JUNE 10, HAD SUBSEQUENTLY DISCUSSED IT WITH PRESIDENT NIXON IN WASHINGTON AND FOLLOWED UP BY HAVING ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR IN ROME MAKE OFFICIAL DEMARCHE TO POPE. PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF POPE'S EFFORT IS SEEN AS OBTAINING A READING ON THE REAL MINIMUM CONDITIONS OF OJUKWU FOR POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. IN ORDER TO KEEP UP MORALE AT HOME AND MAINTAIN HIS EXTERNAL SUPPORT OJUKWU CANNOT ALLOW HIMSELF TO ENGAGE IN PUBLIC OR EVEN MUCH PRIVATE DISCUSSION OF TERMS FOR POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OTHER THAN SOVEREIGNTY FOR BIAFRA. YET WE CONSIDER THIS IS TOTALLY UNREALISTIC, AND ARE INCLINED TO THINK HE MUST HAVE A MORE REALISTIC POSITION WHICH HE HAS NOT REVEALED. IF POPE WERE TO SEND TRUSTED ENVOY, PERHAPS AN AFRICAN BISHOP OR PRIEST BECAUSE COLOR COUNTS IN BIAFRA, HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO GET A CLEARER READING OF THIS POSITION THAN WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN THUS FAR. POPE HAS NOT YET DECIDED HOW HE WANTS TO HANDLE THIS MATTER SINCE HE WAS INITIALLY THINKING ABOUT HAVING BOTH SIDES MEET WITH HIM AT KAMPALA. WE HAVE ADVISED HIM NOT TO DO THIS SINCE IT WOULD VERY LIKELY BE FAILURE FOR SAME REASON THAT OAU MEETINGS HAVE NOT WORKED: TOO MUCH PUBLICITY AND TOO MUCH TEMPTATION FOR TWO SIDES TO TAKE POSTURES FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES RATHER THAN IN HOPE OF MAKING REAL PROGRESS. SECRET TALKS ARE BETTER THAN PUBLIC ONES, AND WE THINK POPE SHOULD START BY SENDING ENVOY TO BIAFRA TO DETERMINE VIEWS OF OJUKWU.

10. FERGUSON REFERRED TO POPE'S MENTION OF POSSIBILITY FOUR-POWER MEETING ON BIAFRA AND WONDERED WHAT FRENCH THOUGHT. SCHUMANN SAID HE COULD DETECT NOT SLIGHTEST WEAKENING OF ALL-OUT UK AND USSR SUPPORT FOR FMG, AND UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES FRANCE OPPOSED TO FOUR-POWER MEETING. SCHUMANN WAS THEN ASKED IF IVORY COAST PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET BOIGNY HAD MENTIONED DURING THEIR RECENT TALK, THE PROPOSAL HE MADE TO AMBASSADOR SHRIVER LAST APRIL ABOUT JOINT APPROACH WITH PRESIDENT TUBMAN TO RESOLVE CONFLICT. SCHUMANN REPLIED THAT IT HAD COME UP IN PASSING AND HOUPHOUET HAD GIVEN IMPRESSION THAT IT WAS IDEA HE HAD ONCE THOUGHT MIGHT BE USEFUL BUT IS

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NOW OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS. AMBASSADOR SHRIVER REMARKED THAT IT MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN BY EVENTS HAD HOUPHOUET PURSUED IT IN APRIL AS HE SAID HE WOULD DO.

11. SCHUMANN THEN SAID HE WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT US HAS NOT GIVEN MORE HELP TO BIAFRA, WHICH CAUSED FERGUSON TO DETAIL RECORD OF WHAT WE HAVE DONE IN TERMS OF RELIEF. AMBASSADOR SHRIVER

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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01,SSO 00,CCO 00, /071 W ..... 075178

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5721

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 PARIS 11259

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SHRIVER ASKED WHETHER SCHUMANN MEANT THAT WE SHOULD INTERVENE MILITARILY OR POLITICALLY ON SIDE OF BIAFRA. WAS HE SUGGESTING THAT WE RECOGNIZE BIAFRA? SCHUMANN THEN MADE HIS IDEAS MORE EXPLICIT AND SAID HE WAS NOT THINKING AT ALL OF POLITICAL OR MILITARY HELP, NOR DID HE WISH DETRACT FROM ALL THAT US HAS DONE. HE WAS NOT SUGGESTING THAT WE RECOGNIZE BIAFRA. FRENCH POLICY, LIKE THAT OF US "EXCLUDES" RECOGNITION OF BIAFRA. HOWEVER, OUR HELP HAS BEEN TOO TIED TO POLITICAL CONDITIONS SET BY LAGOS AND NOT REALLY MIDDLE-OF-THE ROAD HELP SUCH AS HE THOUGHT BEST. THE FRENCH POSITION ON A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT DOES NOT EXCLUDE A SINGLE NIGERIA AND IT COULD WELL COME TOGETHER WITH THAT OF THE US: "SOMEWHERE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE PATH". HOWEVER, BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE THIS AND TO CONVINCE BIAFRA THAT THIS WOULD BE IN THEIR INTEREST WOULD BE FOR MORE DIRECT HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT FROM US NOT SUBJECT TO CONDITIONS FROM LAGOS. FRENCH ARE PROVIDING SUCH AID, ALTHOUGH ON SMALL BASIS, THROUGH ACTION OF FRENCH RED CROSS. (LEBEL EXPLAINED LATER THAT WHAT SCHUMANN HAD IN MIND WAS DIRECT RELIEF TO BIAFRA FROM AMERICAN RED CROSS IN ADDITION TO OR INSTEAD OF WORKING THROUGH ICRC AND JCA).

12. FERGUSON EXPLAINED TO SCHUMANN POLITICAL OBSTACLES WE HAVE HAD TO FACE FROM FMG IN STEPPING UP OUR RELIEF PROGRAM OVER PAST SIX MONTHS. WE HAVE DONE MORE AND MORE FOR BIAFRA INCLUDING SUPPLY OF C-97 AIRCRAFT, AND HAVE BEEN SHARPLY CRITICIZED BY FMG FOR SO DOING. YET REACTION FROM BIAFRA HAS BEEN EXTREMELY DISAPPOINTING. FERGUSON RECOUNTED HISTORY OF HIS TWO TRIPS TO SEE OJUKWU, STRESSING THAT USG WILLING GO SO FAR POLITICAL AS TO SEND AMBASSADOR INTO BIAFRA. BUT OJUKWU HAS

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UNTIL VERY RECENTLY ADAMANTLY REJECTED DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. WE SAW SEVERAL MONTHS AGO THAT SITUATION LIKELY TO DEVELOP WHICH WOULD OBLIGE FMG CRACKDOWN ON NIGHT-TIME RELIEF FLIGHTS AND HAVE TRIED OUR BEST TO OBTAIN OJUKWU'S AGREEMENT TO SATISFACTORY ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENT WHICH WOULD AVOID SUFFERING AND PROBABLY DEATH FOR LARGE NUMBERS HIS PEOPLE. ALL THAT OJUKWU WILLING TO DO WAS TALK ABOUT CROSS RIVER ROUTE WITH AMERICAN GUARANTEES OR THOSE OF SIMILAR VALUE, AND HE UNWILLING SPELL OUT PRECISELY WHAT HE MEANS BY AMERICAN GUARANTEES. WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE FOR FRANCE TO HELP US IN OBTAINING BIAFRAN AGREEMENT TO ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS? AMBASSADOR SHRIVER SAID THAT ONE SPECIFIC PROBLEM WHERE FRENCH MIGHT HELP WOULD BE TO GET BIAFRAN REP TO ATTEND JULY 28 MEETING ON CROSS RIVER AT GENEVA.

13. SCHUMANN SAID THAT HE ALL IN FAVOR OF CROSS RIVER ROUTE AND THAT FRANCE PREPARED HELP. DIKE LETTER TO LEMONDE OF JULY 19 (BEING TRANSMITTED SEPARATELY) SHOWS BIAFRA ALSO FAVORS CROSS RIVER ROUTE. HAVE WE THOUGHT OF IDEA OF MEETING TWO SIDES SEPARATELY INSTEAD OF TOGETHER, FERGUSON REPLIED THAT WE HAVE TRIED THIS IN CONNECTION "ONE SHOP OPERATION" AND IT HAS BEEN REJECTED BY BIAFRANS WHO HAVE TOLD HIM THEY WANT TO MEET FMG REPS AND WANT DISCUSS CEASE-FIRE OR TRUCE AS WELL AS TECHNICAL QUESTIONS. THERE SHOULD BE NO PROBLEM IN ARRANGING SEPARATE MEETINGS IN SAME CITY IF BIAFRANS WANT IT THAT WAY. CERTAINLY US HAS NO OBJECTION.

14. ALPHAND THEN SUGGESTED THAT HE MIGHT CALL IN DIKE, AS HE HAD DONE IN CASE OF ITALIAN PRISONERS, AND RECOMMEND THAT BIAFRA ATTEND MEETING. SCHUMANN DEMURRED, SAYING THAT HE HAD NO OBJECTION TO BIAFRA GOING BUT HE DID NOT WANT TO MAKE DEMARCHE WHICH THEY MIGHT REJECT, THUS DAMAGING FRENCH TIES WITH BIAFRA. HOWEVER, FRENCH WOULD AT LEAST EXPLORE IDEA WITH BIAFRA. AFTER MORE DISCUSSION, SCHUMANN AGREED THAT FRENCH WILL SUGGEST TO BIAFRANS THAT THEY ATTEND JULY 28 MEETING AND POINT OUT POSSIBILITY OF HAVING SEPARATE MEETINGS. AFTER RECEIVING NEGATIVE RESPONSE FROM FERGUSON ON WHETHER US WILLING DIRECTLY SUPERVISE CROSS RIVER ROUTE, SCHUMANN SAID THAT FRANCE WOULD BE WILLING ASSIST WITH INTERNATIONAL AGENCY TO SUPERVISE ROUTE. ON QUESTION OF DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS STOPPING IN FMG TERRITORY AFTER UNLOADING IN BIAFRA, BASED ON MODEL OF ICRC "SERVICE FLIGHTS" HE HOPED IT WOULD BE DISCUSSED DURING JULY 28 MEETING IN GENEVA.

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TELEGRAM

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DIKE'S LETTER TO LEMONDE DOES NOT NECESSARILY RULE OUT SUCH FLIGHTS STOPPING ON WAY OUT OF BIAFRA ALTHOUGH IT DOES SAY CLEARLY THAT PLANES CARRYING RELIEF TO BIAFRA CANNOT STOP ON FMG TERRITORY. CONVERSATION THEN ENDED WITH MUTUAL EXPRESSIONS OF HOPE THAT SOMETHING CAN BE DONE TO SOLVE RELIEF AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF NIGERIA/BIAFRA CONFLICT.

15. COMMENTS FOLLOW SEPTTEL. GP-2.  
SHRIVER

SECRET

0219

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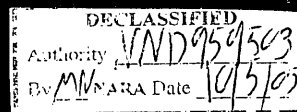
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Pok27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, CCO 00, /071 W

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O R 241840Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5731  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
USMISSION GENEVA

SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 11270

LIMDIS

FOR ACTING SECSTATE FROM FERGUSON

SUBJ: NIGERIAN CIVIL RELIEF; AMBASSADOR FERGUSON'S CONVERSATION  
WITH PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET BOIGNY

1. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON CALLED AT HIS REQUEST ON IVORY COAST  
PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY AT LATTER'S PARIS APARTMENT ON  
AFTERNOON JULY 24. AMBASSADOR SHRIVER AND EMBOFF WERE ALSO  
PRESENT. HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY HAD FOLLOWING ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS  
OF AMBASSADORS FERGUSON AND SHRIVER.

2. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON ASKED HOUPHOUET FOR THE BIAFRAN POSITION  
WITH RESPECT TO RELIEF SHIPMENTS TO BIAFRA. HOUPHOUET REPLIED  
THAT THE BIAFRANS WERE CONCERNED WITH THE POSSIBLE  
POISONING OF SHIPMENTS AND WITH WHAT HE CALLED NIGERIAN "CAPRICES"  
--THE ABILITY OF NIGERIA TO SLACK OFF OR DELAY UNDULY THAT  
PART OF AID TO NIGERIA WHICH WAS DESTINED FOR BIAFRA. HE MADE  
CLEAR THAT THE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE DELAYS WAS FAR MORE  
IMPORTANT TO BIAFRA THAN THE "POISON" QUESTION. BIAFRA, HE  
SAID, WAS WILLING TO HAVE SHIPMENTS INSPECTED BY AN INTERNATIONAL  
CONTROL INCLUDING BIAFRAN AND NIGERIAN REPRESENTATIVES EITHER  
AT AN AIRPORT OUTSIDE OF NIGERIA OR AT A NIGERIAN PORT, (SINCE  
THERE ARE NO OTHER SEAPORTS). HE FELT THIS WAS AN ENTIRELY  
"REASONABLE" POSITION SINCE THE FLIGHT OF THE AIRPLANES COULD  
EASILY BE CHECKED SIMPLY BY MEASURING THE TIME IT TOOK THEM TO  
RETURN TO THEIR AIRPORTS OF ORIGIN.

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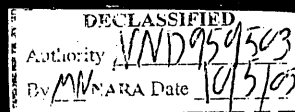
3. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON THEN ASKED HOUPHOUET WHETHER, IN HIS OPINION, THE BIAFRAN LEADERS MIGHT ACCEPT THE IDEA THAT FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA ORIGINATING AT COTONOU, SAN FERNANDO, OR SANTA ISABEL MIGHT LAND IN NIGERIA ON THEIR RETURN FLIGHTS FROM BIAFRA. HOUPHOUET REPLIED THAT IF NIGERIA CONSIDERED THIS A "CONCESSION" HE BELIEVED BIAFRA WOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE A "COUNTER-CONCESSION". ALTHOUGH HE PERSONALLY DID NOT SEE THE UTILITY OF THE IDEA, HE RECOGNIZED THAT FOR BIAFRA IT WAS THE CONTENTS NOT THE PLANES THEMSELVES THAT MATTERED. HE ASKED WHETHER THE FMG WOULD OBJECT TO THE RETURN OF THESE PLANES OF BIAFRAN SICK PEOPLE AND CHILDREN. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON REPLIED THAT GOWON HAD GIVEN ASSURANCES ON THIS POINT. HE ALSO NOTED THE LANDING IN NIGERIA WOULD BE MORE "SYMBOLIC" THAN ANYTHING ELSE. HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY THEN SAID THAT HE WOULD TRY TO PERSUADE THE BIAFRANS TO ACCEPT THIS IDEA.

4. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON RAISED THE CROSS RIVER PROPOSALS AND MENTIONED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD HAD NO WORD FROM THE BIAFRAN SIDE ABOUT WHETHER BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES WOULD ATTEND THE MEETING IN GENEVA SCHEDULED FOR JULY 28. HOUPHOUET REPLIED THAT THE BIAFRANS AGREE ON THE PRINCIPLE OF AN INTERNATIONAL ZONE ON THE RIVER UNDER INTERNATIONAL CONTROL INCLUDING THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO SIDES. HE SAID THAT AS SOON AS HIS VISITORS HAD LEFT, HE WOULD TELEPHONE OJUKWU TO ASK HIM TO SEND A BIAFRAN DELEGATION TO THE GENEVA MEETING. HE EXPECTED TO RECEIVE AN ANSWER BY SATURDAY, JULY 26, AT THE LATEST. HOUPHOUET THEN OBSERVED THAT HE WOULD BE IN GENEVA ON SUNDAY, JULY 27. WHEN HE LEARNED THAT AMBASSADOR FERGUSON WOULD ALSO BE THERE THEN, HE SUGGESTED THAT THEY MEET IN GENEVA AND THAT THE UNITED STATES MISSION IN GENEVA ARRANGE THE MEETING WITH THE CONSULATE OF THE IVORY COAST.

5. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON NOTED THAT EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE PROPOSED TO THE POPE THAT HE ASSIST IN SEEKING ONCE AGAIN A COMMON GROUND ON WHICH TO RESOLVE THE CONFLICT. IN PARTICULAR, DID PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET FEEL THAT IF THE FMG WERE WILLING TO SPECIFY IN DETAIL GUARANTEES FOR THE IBOS, THE BIAFRANS WOULD BE PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS? HOUPHOUET SAID HE COULD NOT ANSWER THE QUESTION BECAUSE HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT THE GUARANTEES WERE. HE OBSERVED THAT WHILE OUTSIDERS CAN HELP TO CREATE A PROPITIOUS CLIMATE FOR TALKS, PEACE COULD NOT COME FROM THEM-- IT HAD TO COME FROM THE PRINCIPALS IN THE CONFLICT.

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TELEGRAM

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6. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON THEN ASKED FOR HOUPHOUET'S IDEAS ON WHAT THE GREAT POWERS--THREE, FOUR OR PERHAPS FIVE OF THEM MIGHT TOGETHER OR UNILATERALLY--MIGHT DO TO HELP THE SITUATION. HOUPHOUET REPLIED BY DESCRIBING AT LENGTH WHY THE AFRICANS WERE THEMSELVES UNABLE TO RESOLVE THE WAR. CONTRARY TO CASE IN LATIN AMERICA, THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES WERE NOT YET NATIONS. THEREFORE, THEY VIEWED THE NIGERIAN CONFLICT "CALLED A CIVIL WAR", FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THEIR OWN DOMESTIC PROBLEMS. EVEN HAILE SELASSIE, FOR WHOM HOUPHOUET HAD GREATEST RESPECT AND ADMIRATION, HIMSELF MADE THE CONNECTION BETWEEN HIS OWN PROBLEMS WITH ERITREA AND SOMALILAND AND POSSIBLE SOLUTION OF THE

NIGERIAN CONFLICT. HOUPHOUET WAS PERFECTLY WILLING TO HAVE ANOTHER MEETING OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN SPITE OF THE FAILURES OF THE VARIOUS EARLIER MEETINGS BECAUSE IT WAS "NECESSARY TO RUN AFTER PEACE". BUT THE "HEART AND THE MIND" OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES WERE DIVIDED ON NIGERIA.

7. SINCE HOUPHOUET HAD EITHER MISUNDERSTOOD THE QUESTION OR HAD CHOSEN DELIBERATELY TO REPLY IN THIS FASHION, AMBASSADOR SHRIVER REPHRASED THE QUESTION NAMING THE US, UK, FRANCE AND THE SOVIET UNION AMONG THE "POWERS". HOUPHOUET REPLIED BY MENTIONING THE COMMUNIST THREAT TO AFRICA AND THE VERY REAL PROPAGANDA EFFORT UNDERTAKEN IN NIGERIA BY THE SOVIET UNION. HE EMPHASIZED AGAIN THAT NIGERIA AND BIAFRA WERE NOT EXCLUSIVELY AN AFRICAN PROBLEM JUST AS CYPRUS WAS NOT EXCLUSIVELY A EUROPEAN PROBLEM. GP-2 SHRIVER

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Pol 27-4 BIAFRA NIGERIA

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ACTION SS 70

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O R 241840Z JUL 69

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5732

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

USMISSION GENEVA

SECRET SECTION 2 OF 2 PARIS 11270

LIMDIS

8. AMBASSADOR SHRIVER FERGUSON ASKED IF PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET HAD ANY SUGGESTIONS ABOUT HOW TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT. HOUPHOUET, AFTER PROVIDING SOME HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON THE IVORY COAST'S ROLE, MADE AN ANALOGY WITH VIETNAM IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAD UNILATERALLY CEASED BOMBING AND WITHDRAWN SOME TROOPS. HE SUGGESTED THAT AN UNCONDITIONAL "CEASE-FIRE" BE AGREED UPON. THIS WOULD INVOLVE NO RISK TO NIGERIA SINCE BIAFRA WAS ENCIRCLED. KNOWING AS HE DID THE AFRICAN MIND, HE WAS SURE THAT IN A SIX MONTHS' PERIOD AFTER SUCH A CEASE-FIRE, THE FRIENDS OF GENERAL GOWON AND THOSE OF GENERAL OJUKWU WOULD GET TOGETHER AND SEEK A COMPROMISE. HAILE SELASSIE, DIORI AND TUBMAN, AND HOUPHOUET BOIGNY HIMSELF COULD MEET TO SEEK A SOLUTION. LATER IN THE CONVERSATION HOUPHOUET APPEARED TO WARM TO THE IDEA OF A MEETING EVER PRIOR TO A CEASE-FIRE.

9. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON ASKED WHETHER HOUPHOUET SAW IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND PARTICULARLY NEXT FALL'S GENERAL ASSEMBLY MEETING A POSSIBLE VEHICLE FOR MAKING PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACEFUL SOLUTION. HOUPHOUET REPLIED THAT HE REGARDED THE UN ONLY AS A LAST RESORT. AS THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS DO, IT WAS BETTER FIRST TO TRY TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION THROUGH REGIONAL MEANS. HOWEVER, HE WAS AWARE THAT THERE WAS NO BAR TO UN PARTICIPATION. CYPRUS MIGHT BE AN "INTERNAL" CONFLICT AS THE CONGO HAD BEEN, BUT IN BOTH CASES THE "BLUE HELMETS" HAD COME TO BE STATIONED IN THOSE COUNTRIES. HE STRESSED SEVERAL TIMES THAT UN "LAST RESORT".

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10. AS AMBASSADOR FERGUSON AND SHRIVER PREPARED TO LEAVE, HOUPHOUET ANNOUNCED HIS INTENTION TO DELAY HIS RETURN TO ABIDJAN FOR TWO DAYS TO PERMIT HIM TO BE IN GENEVA DURING THE PROPOSED MEETING ON THE CROSS RIVER. HE SAID HE TRAVELED ONLY FOR PEACE. THE IVORY COAST HAD NO NEED FOR HIM TO BE IN FRANCE OR ELSEWHERE FOR ITSELF. BUT HE COULD NOT "SLEEP" AND HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND HOW OTHERS COULD AS LONG AS THE CONFLICT RAGED AND PEOPLE WERE DYING IN NIGERIA. HOW, HE ASKED, COULD AFRICANS CONDEMN OTHER STATES FOR VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHEN THEY DID NOT ACT ON THIS TERRIBLE CASE. THE OBJECT MUST BE, HE SAID, TO END THE WAR AND THUS END THE NEED FOR RELIEF SHIPMENTS. HOUPHOUET RESPONDED IMMEDIATELY TO THE GENEVA MEETING PROPOSAL--OUR IMPRESSION IS HE WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRING OFF MEETING. FERGUSON OF OPINION THAT HOUPHOUET MAY BE SEARCHING FOR ROLE IN PROPOSED MEETING. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS THIS POSSIBILITY. HOUPHOUET APPARENTLY UNWILLING TO COMMIT HIMSELF EXPRESSLY ON ROLE OUTSIDE POWERS OR TALKS. IN VIEW OF HOUPHOUET'S POSITIVE RESPONSE TO REQUEST FOR HELP GENEVA MEETING AND HIS INDICATIONS WOULD LIKE TO BE OF HELP IN GENEVA ITSELF, FERGUSON DID NOT BELIEVE IT APPROPRIATE TO RAISE MATTER OF RESPONSE TO NIXON LETTER. GP-2. SHRIVER.

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90627-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION SS 70

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5703

S E C R E T PARIS 11213

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DEPARTMENT PASS AS REQUIRED

FOR UNDERSECRETARY FROM FERGUSON

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

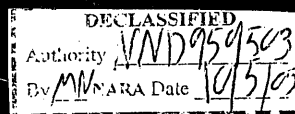
1. IN OUR JULY 23 MEETING, SCHUMANN REFERRED SEVERAL TIMES TO HIS POSITION AND EXPERIENCE AS CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE FOR AID TO BIAFRA. HIS REACTIONS CLEARLY STILL MARKED BY EMOTION AND ONLY BEGINNING TO GRASP COMPLEXITY OF PROBLEM. LEBEL ADMITTED HE HAD NOT HAD TIME BRIEF SCHUMANN ON EVOLUTION USG POSITION OVER PAST SIX MONTHS. AS RESULT SCHUMANN SEEMED SURPRISED AT WHAT FERGUSON HAD TO SAY AND APPEARED MORE PRO-BIAFRA HAWK THAN LEBEL OR ALPHAND. YET IN END HE AGREED FRENCH WILL TRY TO BE HELPFUL ON RELIEF EFFORT. SCHUMANN OBVIOUSLY ANXIOUS TO AVOID MAKING COMMITMENTS ON POLITICAL SIDE.

2. CLEAR THAT FRENCH ARE UNEASY ABOUT THEIR PRESENT POLICY IN FACE OF REALIZATION BIAFRA CANNOT WIN INDEPENDENCE. THEME IN ALL DISCUSSIONS IS USG SHOULD MOVE CLOSER TO FRENCH POSITION AND ACHIEVE A "BALANCE" BETWEEN SIDES. FOR EXAMPLE, SCHUMANN OBJECTION TO FOUR POWER TALKS "AT THIS TIME" RESTS ON NOTION THAT ALIGNMENT WOULD BE THREE TO ONE AGAINST BIAFRA.

3. FOR REASONS THAT DID NOT APPEAR IN TALKS, SCHUMANN VIOLENTLY OPPOSED TO ANY MEETING FACE-TO-FACE BIAFRANS/FMG. FERGUSON'S SPECULATION IS THAT FRENCH DO NOT FEEL US SUFFICIENTLY NEUTRAL OR FRIENDLY TO BIAFRA TO BE HOST AT ANY MEETING RELIEF OR POLITICAL.

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4. FROM COMMENTS LEBEL FRENCH FEEL USG WORKING WITH FMG TO "TRAP" BIAFRANS IN PUBLIC ON RELIEF MATTERS. E.G., ALPHAND MADE DECISION ON SPOT TO CALL IN DIKE MORNING JULY 24 WHEN FERGUSON STATED USG MIGHT BE CONSTRAINED TO PUBLICIZE FACT THAT ONE OR BOTH PARTIES REFUSED TO SHOW FOR GENEVA MEETING.

5. FERGUSON INTENDS FOLLOW UP SCHUMANN DECLARATION: FRENCH WILLING TO HELP INTERNATIONAL AGENCY SUPERVISE CROSS RIVER OPERATION. SCHUMANN UNDER IMPRESSION USG ORIGINATED PAPAL INITIATIVE. DID NOT APPEAR TO BELIEVE FERGUSON EXPLANATION THAT INITIATIVE TRACEABLE TO POPE/HIM CONVERSATION IN GENEVA. FROM LEBEL COMMENTS TO FERGUSON ALSO APPARENT THAT FRENCH BELIEVE US HAS SOMETHING ELSE IN WORKS WHICH NOT BEING DISCLOSED TO FRENCH. GP-2.  
SHRIVER

SECRET 22

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Authority VMD 954/503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05



37

RS/AN

July 24, 1969

Honorable Edward M. Kennedy  
Chairman, Subcommittee on  
Refugees and Escapees  
Committee on the Judiciary  
United States Senate

Dear Mr. Chairman:

We are enclosing herewith the transcript of hearings before  
your Subcommittee July 15, 1969, at which Under Secretary  
Richardson and Ambassador Ferguson testified on the  
"Massive Relief Problems Resulting from the Nigerian  
Civil War."

Minor grammatical and factual corrections have been made  
in the transcript and the Department now considers it  
edited for publication.

If we can be of further assistance in this matter, please let  
me know.

Sincerely yours,

<sup>EW</sup>  
William B. Macomber, Jr.  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations

Enclosure:

As stated.

H:BMCarson

Clearances: U - Mr. Ruser  
U/CF- Mr. Schott  
H - Mr. Leahy

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

(1)

0233

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Authority	1/ND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03



ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

July 16, 1969

TO: Office of the Under Secretary

FROM: H - Beatrice M. Carson, Rm. 7247A, Ext. 3594

SUBJECT: Transcript of Congressional Hearing

Attached for review and correction by appropriate officers is the transcript of a hearing held July 15, 1969 before the Subcommittee, Refugees & Escapees, Judiciary Committee on the following subject:  
"MASSIVE RELIEF PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR"  
(Testimony of Secretary Richardson and Ambassador C. Clyde Ferguson.)

Any material requested by the Committee should be inserted at the point in the transcript where called for.

It is anticipated that the transcript will ~~(will not)~~ be published.

When the transcript has been cleared, it should be returned immediately to this office for final review and transmittal to the Committee. In order to meet the Committee's deadline, we will need to have the transcript in hand by NOON, July 18, 1969

Transcript Reviewed by (please sign below) \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

U - C.W. Rusk - also checked  
in U-C.F.

U/C.F. - Mr. Schett

7-18-69

0234

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

POL 27-9 RIAFRA--  
Niger

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A-346

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NO.

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFO : DAKAR (for RCAA), IBADAN, KADUNA.

SCA 5/PM ORN

FROM : Amembassy LAGOS

SUBJECT : CIVIL AVIATION - General Ban on Operation of Light Aircraft Continued.

REF : CERP D, Lagos 4791.

AF

As indicated in the referenced message, the Federal Military Government imposed a ban on the operation of light aircraft in Nigeria on May 27 following a series of air raids on Port Harcourt, Benin and Ughelli led by Swedish Count Von Rosen on behalf of secessionist forces. Since the Von Rosen attacks utilized single-engined two-seater Swedish Minecon aircraft, Federal authorities imposed the ban in recognition of the problem of identity which such aircraft presented in distinguishing friendly from enemy aircraft. Although the range of the rebel aircraft is limited, the ban is effective throughout the country.

The ban has adversely affected the operation of the three air charter firms operating from Ikeja (Lagos) airport--Pan African Airlines (American owned), Aero Contractors, and Delta Air Charter. Whereas Pan African continues to operate its DC-4 aircraft on charters, it has been forced to separate some pilots because of the ban. Aero Contractors, which operated regularly scheduled Piper Aztec services between Lagos and Warri as well as air charters, has dismissed eight expatriate pilots and engineers as well as 25 Nigerian employees as a result of the grounding. Private operations have also been grounded although we understand that some missionary organizations, based in Jos, have been able to fly between Northern points.

Air charter companies operating to Warri, Escravos and other locations in Midwest Nigeria performed an invaluable and vital service to the petroleum exploration and production companies by providing the only air link to Lagos. Movement of personnel must now be undertaken by road or boat, each method requiring a minimum of a half a day. In addition to the inconvenience and additional expense, emergency medical evacuations are also made more difficult.

FORM 4-62 RS-323

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☒ In ☐ Out

Drafted by:

ECON: RKKuchel:ej

7/22/69

Contents and Classification Approved by:

ECON: WGJones, Economic Counselor

Clearances:

(203)

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Authority: VIND 954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/03

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Page 2

to LAGOS A 346

There is no indication when the ban might be lifted. However, one company, Aero Contractors, has recently been given permission to operate two weekly flights between Lagos-Oshogbo and Kainji Dam on behalf of the Niger Dams Authority, a Nigerian Government statutory entity. The flights so undertaken must adhere strictly to precise flight paths and schedules, although they are in an area considerably distant from the war zone.

MATHEWS



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0236

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MNARA Date 10/5/03

75



INDICATE:  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL POL 27-9 BIARRA-NIGERCA  
 Classification  
 Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

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24 Jul 69 23 367

## DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: USMission GENEVA PRIORITY  
 Amembassy LAGOS

INFO Amembassy LONDON  
 Amembassy PARIS  
 USMission USUN NEW YORK

FOR FERGUSON.

REF: LAGOS 6543; Lagos 6662; State 122201.

1. In view your presence Geneva, Department requests you consider effect decision re use and destination LSM's would have on negotiations.
2. Dept concerned that any use LSM's on Federal side or representations re their use might affect FMG decision participate negotiations Geneva. However, inasmuch as we are uncertain whether the effect would be positive or negative and considering that we should have FMG's ~~xxxx~~ decision re Geneva within day or two, we would advise delaying decision re destination LSM's until after decision made on Geneva.

DRAFTED BY:

XXXXXX/CF: AEDewey

DRAFTING DATE

6/21/69

TEL. EXT.

6215

APPROVED BY:

Stephen C. Schott

CLEARANCES:

U/CF: AEDewey

7/24/69

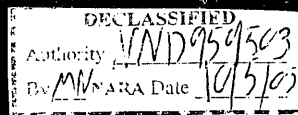
AF - Amb. Moore (in draft)

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FORM DS-322  
4-68

0237





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Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

INDICATE:  
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p. 2 of telegram to GENEVA, LAGOS, LONDON, PARIS, USUN

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ACTION:

3. We see little advantage use of ~~LDM~~ LSM for trip to Harcourt Port/~~Harcourt~~ and continue to fear that FMG determined erode our position that LSM's are consigned to Cross River operation. FMG ultimate hope might be that de facto situation be accepted by U.S. and Cross River route forgotten. We cannot permit this to happen.
4. In light above, suggest you discuss with ICRC with view, if you agree this ~~desirable~~ desirable, countermanding orders apparently given by Egli and Hocke to load Dona Maria with stockfish for trip to Port Harcourt.
5. Request Lagos provide U/CF with fullest information available ICRC coaster capacity -- ships, tonnages, charter dates; also feasibility overland movement Port Harcourt Uyo to ~~Lagos~~ considering effect rains on secondary roads, interference from military action.

END

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	APPROVED BY: RICHARDSO
CLEARANCES:			

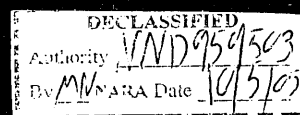
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4-68

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# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria  
22457

OK

24 JUL 69 17 35Z

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Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

Info:

US MISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

INFO: Amconsul IBADAN  
KADUNA

SUBJ: ICRC Handover to FMG

1. UPI reports July 23 from Lagos that Timothy Omo-Bare, federal relief and rehabilitation commissioner, announced to reporters in Kaduna that ICRC is formally handing over relief activities in Nigeria to the FMG on Friday. He said FMG would start relief operations in areas affected by two-year-old civil war, including territory held by Biafran rebels, as soon as Red Cross handover was completed.

2. Appreciate Lagos confirmation and description what sort of handover ceremony planned for Friday.

3. For Geneva: Assume this will produce no public response from ICRC. If so, appreciate earliest indication nature ICRC public comment.

4. Both Geneva and Lagos: Believe our press line should be that this handover within context ICRC-FMG negotiations and Naville visit Lagos, that any comment this development should come from ICRC. If posts have other views line we should take, please inform.

RICHARDSON

Drafted by:

AF/P:RLPerkins:mb 7/24/69

Tel. Ext. 2105

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AF/P:RLPerkins

RICHARDSON

Clearances:

AF/W - Mr. Sherry  
U/CF - Mr. Pope

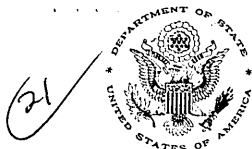
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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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By: MN Date: 10/5/05



*POL 27-9 Biafra-nigeria*  
Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

SECRET 704

PAGE 01 ROME 04628 241210Z

47  
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

071896

R 241130Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY ROME  
TO USMISSION GENEVA  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1694  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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REF: GENEVA 2562

*7-24-69*  
*Y628*  
*Gene*

1. VATICAN OFFICIAL REFERRED TO PARA 2 REFTEL IS  
ARCHBISHOP BENELLI, SUBSTITUTE SECRETARY OF STATE,  
1.00, NUMBER 2 IN SECRETARIAT OF STATE  
AND OFFICIAL WHO DEPUTIZES AS "PRIME MINISTER"  
FOR CARDINAL SECRETARY VILLOT.

2. GPI  
ACKLEY

SECRET  
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Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05



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By MN NARA Date 10/5/03



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 468

PAGE 01 COTONO 00007 250750Z

11  
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, SS 20, P 04, CIAE 00,

INR 07, NSAE 00, RSC 01, AID 28, RSR 01, NSC 10, IO 13, /102 W  
079443

O R 241630Z JUL 69 ZFG  
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2294  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONOU 589

FOR U/CF FROM THOMAS

SUBJ: RSM

PRESS HOUNDING THOMAS LAST TWO DAYS INDICATED TODAY THEY  
WISHED TO VERIFY THOMAS TAKING PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT  
NIXON TO OJUKWU IN BIAFRA RETURN COTONOU AND FLY WASHINGTON,  
D.C. MISSION COMPLETED.

THOMAS HAS REQUESTED BUT NOT AS YET RECEIVED AUTHORIZATION  
TO GO INTO ENCLAVE WITH ICRC EMERGENCY FLIGHT AND RETURN WITH  
ICRC FLIGHT VIA LAGOS TO COTONOU--THE AGREED FLIGHT PLAN.

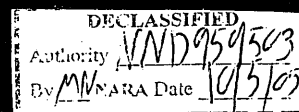
UNCONFIRMED ICRC EMERGENCY FLIGHT'S POSSIBLY NEXT 24 TO  
72 HOURS. ADVISE SOONEST.

LOORAM

*Cotonou 789  
7-24-69*

CONFIDENTIAL

0242



(11)



Department of State

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

TELEGRAM

XR AID (US) 15-9 NIGERIA

XR AID (US) 15-9 BIAFRA

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PAGE 01 COTONOU 00786 241134Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, AID 28, IO 13, IGA 02, RSR 01, RSC 01, /063 W  
071653

R 240925Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2292  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE COTONOU 786

DEPT FOR U/CF FROM THOMAS

SUBJ: RSM

REF: STATE 121174 - AID 4-2-69

REQUEST AUTHORIZATION FOR THOMAS TO TRAVEL WITH GERALD  
BRADLEY ON PROPOSED 2 - 3 WEEK TDY ASSIGNMENT BASED IN COTONOU  
AND TRAVELING BETWEEN COTONOU, SANTA ISABEL AND SAO TOME TO  
EXAMINE AND REPORT ON QUANTITY AND LOCATION OF TITLE II, PL 480  
COMMODITIES STOCKPILED THESE LOCATIONS AND WITH SPECIFIC  
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE USE.

ACCORDING TO REFTEL TRANSPORTATION TO BE ARRANGED ICRC  
AND JCA OFFICIALS FOR SANTA ISABEL AND SAO TOME.

BELIEVE THOMAS COULD BE OF ASSISTANCE TO U/CF IN TRAVELING  
WITH MR. BRADLEY DURING PROPOSED VISIT. ALSO EMBASSY HAS REQUESTED  
THAT THOMAS GIVE ALL ASSISTANCE POSSIBLE CONCERNING RESULTS OF  
RSM COTONOU THUS FAR.

FYI: AKRELL OF ICRC COTONOU (PROTECT) INDICATED JCA MADE  
EIGHTEEN (18) RELIEF FLIGHTS INTO ENCLAVE MONDAY NIGHT JULY 21,  
1969. ADVISE SOONEST.

LOORAM

(3)

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 COTONOU 00785 241142Z

53  
ACTION AID 28

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 01, CIAE 00,

INR 07, NSAE 00, RSC 01, RSR 01, /073 W

071698

R 240925BFJUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2293  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
USMISSION GENEVA

UNCLAS COTONOU 785

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF PROGRAM (PLI 480 REQUIREMENTS)

REF: STATE 121174 / AID 60000/7

EMBASSY CONCURS PROPOSED 2 - 3 WEEK TDY ASSIGNMENT GERALD  
BRADLEY, GEORGE THOMAS JR., (U/CF), WILL BE AVAILABLE TO ASSIST  
MR. BRADLEY UPON HIS ARRIVAL COTONOU.

LOORAM

Cotonou 785  
7-24-69

(1)

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Authority VND959503  
By MNA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA  
Xc Pol 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 39

PAGE 01 PARIS 11265 241956Z

84  
ACTION EUR 22

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, CIAE 00, DDOE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AIO 28, UCF 05,  
UPW 01, RSR 01, 148 W 075222

P R 241900Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5726  
INFO USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 11265

SUBJ: JULY 23 CALL ON POMPIDOU: NIGERIA-BIAFRA

WE HAD ONLY A FEW MINUTES TO DISCUSS AFRICA, BUT POMPIDOU BROUGHT UP THE NIGERIA-BIAFRA SITUATION AND USED IT AS A FURTHER EXAMPLE OF THE IMPROVING RAPPORT BETWEEN FRENCH AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS. HE KNEW THAT AMBASSADOR FERGUSON AND I WERE MEETING LATER IN THE DAY WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SCHUMANN AND AS A CONSEQUENCE HE DID NOT GO INTO ANY DETAILS ON THE QUESTION OF RELIEF OR ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION. OUR SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION WITH SCHUMANN, HOWEVER, CONFIRMS MY IMPRESSION ON THE SUBJECT OF NIGERIA-BIAFRA, NAMELY THAT WE CAN EXPECT FRENCH SUPPORT IN OUR EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A BETTER HUMANITARIAN SITUATION, AND SOME GREATER FRENCH SUPPORT WITH THE BIAFRANS TO BREAK THE LOG JAM POLITICALLY.  
SHRIVER

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45

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Authority VND 959/503  
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 PARIS 11224 241601Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01,

UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, E 15, DOT 12, RSR 01, 185 W  
073521

R 241505Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5706

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PARIS 11224

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: TRANSLATION FROM LE MONDE JULY 19

BEGIN TEXT

THE NIGERIAN WAR. THE BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVE IN PARIS CLARIFIES THE POSITION OF HIS GOVERNMENT. MR. CHIJIJOKE I. DIKE, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FROM BIAFRA IN PARIS, HAS WRITTEN US A LETTER WHICH CLARIFIES THE POSITION OF THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT ON HUMANITARIAN AID.

1. WE CONSIDER THAT OWING TO THE ENORMITY OF THE PROBLEM OF AID, THE PRESENT NIGHT FLIGHTS SHOULD BE COMPLEMENTED BY DAY FLIGHTS AND WATER-WAY ROUTES.

2. SPECIAL AIRPORT FOR RELIEF IS BEING CONSTRUCTED TO INSURE THE SECURITY OF BOTH NIGHT AND DAY FLIGHTS.

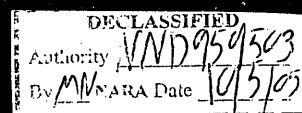
3. IN THE MEANTIME THE AIRPORT AT ULI IS CAPABLE OF BEING USED FOR DAY FLIGHTS IN ADDITION TO NORMAL NIGHT FLIGHTS SUBJECT TO INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE THAT THE AIRPORT WOULD NOT BE ATTACKED UNDER THE PRETEXT OF RELIEF FLIGHTS.

4. WE ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLES OF INSPECTION BY THE NIGERIANS BUT SUCH AN INSPECTION WOULD HAVE TO BE HELD IN NEUTRAL TERRITORY AND WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE BIAFRAN AND NEUTRAL INSPECTORS.

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0246





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PAGE 02 PARIS 11224 241601Z

5. NIGERIA AND BIAFRA MUST BOTH BE NOTIFIED IN ADVANCE OF FLIGHT PLANS.

6. WE ACCEPT THE CROSS RIVER AID PROPOSAL MADE BY THE UNITED STATES SUBJECT TO THE CONTROL OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OR BY AN INTERNATIONAL AGENCY ACCEPTED BY COMMON AGREEMENT.

7. WE WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY AGREEMENT UNDER THE TERMS OF WHICH AID TO BIAFRA WOULD TOUCH NIGERIAN SOIL.

BECAUSE THE NIGERIAN MINISTERS, INCLUDING THE NIGERIAN VICE PRESIDENT, HAVE LAST MONTH AGAIN REAFFIRMED THAT THEY ARE OPPOSED TO ANY EXPORTATION OF FOODSTUFFS TO BIAFRA, THERE WOULD BE DANGEROUSLY LENGTHENED DELAYS OF TRANSPORT.

ALREADY THE CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS AND THE NIGERIANS AIMED AT THE RESUMING OF RELIEF FLIGHTS HAVE BEEN POSTPONED FROM LAGOS TO LONDON, TO GENEVA, THEN TO LAGOS, FROM WEEK TO WEEK SINCE JUNE 5, THE DATE ON WHICH NIGERIA FELL A RED CROSS PLANE IN BROAD DAYLIGHT.

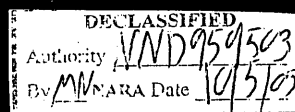
BECAUSE OUR EXPERIENCE, CONFIRMED BY DOCTORS AND FOREIGN MISSIONARIES IN BIAFRA, HAS LEAD THE BIAFRAN POPULATION TO SUSPECT ALL SHIPMENTS OF FOODSTUFFS WHICH HAVE TOUCHED NIGERIAN TERRITORY.

BECAUSE BIAFRAN INSPECTORS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO GO TO NIGERIA FOR OBVIOUS REASONS OF SECURITY.

BECAUSE NIGERIA WOULD BE ABLE TO TRANSPORT TROOPS BY AIR UNDER THE COVER OF RELIEF FLIGHTS, IN ORDER TO OCCUPY THE MILITARY AIRPORT OF BIAFRA. END TEXT. DECONTROL UPON RECEIPT.  
SHRIVER

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(11)



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XL POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 KADUNA 00712 241240Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01,UCF 05,UPW 01,SR 01,ORM 03,SCSE 00,SCA 01,CIAE 00,DOOE 00,

JPM 04,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSAE 00,NSC 10,P 04,RSC 01,SP 02,SS 20

USIA 12,AID 28,IO 13,ACDA 16,RSR 01,153 W

072076

R 241130Z JUL 69  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1234  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMCONSUL IBADAN

UNCLAS KADUNA 0712

SUBJ: NEW NIGERIAN ON THE AIR WAR AND RELIEF FLIGHTS

JULY 24 NEW NIGERIAN EDITORIAL REFERRING TO "FIERCE AIR  
BATTLE OVER ULI-IHIALA ON JULY 21 STATES THAT REBELS MAY  
HAVE SOME "FIGHTER CAPACITY." THERE IS "SUSPICION" THAT  
AIRCRAFT ACCOMPANYING JCA NIGHT FLIGHTS FROM SAO TOME "MAY  
CARRY ARMS AND MAY BE ARMED." EDITORIAL THEN REITERATES  
NEWSPAPER'S STAND THAT NIGHT FLIGHTS SHOULD BE STOPPED AND  
DAY FLIGHTS SUBJECT TO INSPECTION SINCE GENUINE RELIEF  
ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD BE WILLING DELIVER SUPPLIES IN "BROAD  
DAYLIGHT."  
HUTCHINSON

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0248

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03



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POC 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02600 241717Z

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ACTION AID 28

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AF 12, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01,  
UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,  
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 152 W  
074030

R 241630Z JUL 69  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2274  
INFO AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

GENEVA-2600  
9-54 69

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STATE FOR AID/HAVEN NORTH

SUBJECT: NIGERIA-STOCKFISH SLC

REF: TELECON GUTMAN-NORTH 7-23

1. AMMANN/ICRC HAS AGAIN CONFIRMED ICRC WILL NOT REPEAT NOT CONTRACT ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES STOCKFISH UNTIL A) PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS IN LAGOS RE TRANSFER RELIEF OPERATIONS FROM ICRC TO RTMG ESTABLISH TIME FRAME FOR ICRC RESPONSIBILITY AND/OR B) RELIEF FLIGHTS INTO BIAFRA CAN BE RESUMED.

2. ONCE ABOVE PROBLEMS RESOLVED, ICRC PREPARED CONSIDER CON-TRACTING#BALANCE OF SLC AND WAREHOUSE STOCKFISH IN ICELAND UNTIL REQUIRED.

3. TALKED TO KUTTLE WHO UNDER PRESSURE FROM GOI TO HELP ASSURE BALANCE STOCKFISH IS CONTRACTED SOONEST. (KUTTLE HAS PERSONAL INTEREST SHOW RESULTS AS HE HOPES BE NOMINATED GOI CONSUL GENEVA). DISCUSSED SITUATION AT LENGTH AND ASSURED HIM NO REPEAT NO INTENTION ON PART USG/AID BACKWATER. HE APPRECIATES ICRC POSITION OUTLINED PARA 1 ALTHOUGH HE/GOI CONSIDERED ICRC HAD MADE COMMITMENT PURCHASE ENTIRE AMOUNT SUBJECT AVAILABILITY US FUNDING. BELIEVE HE NOW UNDERSTANDS RAMIFICATIONS FMG POLICY

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 02600 241717Z

CHANGE:

OF JUNE 230#WHICH COINCIDED WITH OBLIGATION SLC FUNDS AS  
HE CHARACTERIZED FMG STEP AS "FORCE MAJEURE" EVENT.

4. KUTTLER CONCERNED THAT PRESENT TERMS SLC PROVIDE PAYMENT ONLY  
AGAINST SHIPMENT. EARLY RESOLUTION PROBLEMS PARA 1 WOULD RESULT  
IN WAREHOUSING RATHER THAN SHIPPING OF FISH. HE WONDERED WHETHER  
SLC COULD BE AMENDED TO PROVIDE PAYMENT AGAINST WAREHOUSE RECEIPTS  
INSTEAD BILLS OF LADING. TOLD HIM AID ALREADY LOOKING INTO THIS.  
HOWEVER, IF FEASIBLE, AMENDED PROCEDURE MIGHT PROVIDE LESS THAN  
100 PERCENT PAYMENT IN ORDER MAKE PROVISION FOR SHIPPING CHARGES.

5. KUTTLER EXPECTS LEAVE  
FOR ICELAND NEXT FEW DAYS. BELIEVE HE  
NOW HAS FULL UNDERSTANDING OF SITUATION AND WILL BE HELPFUL IN  
CALMING GOI ANXIETIES. EARLY AID/W COMMENTS RE POSSIBILITY MODIFY  
SLC TERMS (PARA 4) SHOULD SERVE AS FURTHER PROOF USG EFFORTS BE  
HELPFUL TO GOI IN RESOLVING STOCKFISH PROBLEM.  
TUBBY

NOTE: #AS RECEIVED.  
VERIFICATION UPON REQUEST.

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02592 241238Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04,

UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NAC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, /152 W

072065

R 241158Z JUL 69  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2268  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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PARIS FOR AMB. FERGUSON

1. ACCORDING CHENARD JCA ACCOMPLISHED FLIGHTS AS FOLLOWS:  
JULY 17/18 TWELVE FLIGHTS, 18/19 THIRTEEN, 19/20 TWELVE, 20/21  
ELEVEN, 21/22 FOURTEEN, 22/23 SIXTEEN, WITH NIGHTLY AVERAGE  
OF 140 TONS.

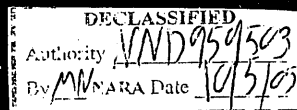
2. JCA IN US/CANADA IS NOW INCLINED BELIEVE FMG NIGHT FIGHTER  
CAPABILITY HAS BEEN OVERESTIMATED. ACQUISITION OF ADDITIONAL  
PLANES BY NAF HAS NOT REPEAT NOT BEEN MATCHED BY BUILD UP OF  
OPERATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE.

3. JCA STILL ADHERES POLICY PLAY DOWN NIGHT FLIGHTS AND REQUESTS  
LOU TREATMENT OF FIGURES PARA 1. TUBBY

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02591 241343Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, SSO 00, RSR 01, RSC 01, /02! W

072487

O 241158Z JUL 69 ZFF4  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2297

UNCLAS GENEVA 2591

FOR U/CF DEWEY-EARLY AM DELIVERY

AMBASSADOR FERGUSON REQUESTS DEWEY AND FLAHERTY DELAY  
DEPARTURE PENDING FURTHER DEVELOPMENT. TUBBY

GENEVA-2591  
7-24-69

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By	MN NARA
Date	10/5/05



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CONFIDENTIAL 353

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, ID 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01,  
UCF 05, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCD 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,  
INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, RSR 01, 146 W  
075132

P R 241746Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7952

USMISSION GENEVA  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 6662

GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

SUBJ: LSMS

REF: STATE 122201

1. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT EFFORT TO PUSH NWANIBA AS ULTIMATE  
DESTINATION FIRST TRIP LSM WOULD BE FRUITLESS AND ONLY  
EXACERBATE SITUATION. WE HAVE URGED SENDING SHIP TO CALABAR  
AS DESTINATION FOR FIRST TRIP BUT ICRC EXTREMELY RELUCTANT DO  
SO AT THIS JUNCTURE AND PLANNED DESTINATION IS PORT HARCOURT  
WITH ABOUT 300 TONS STOCKFISH WHICH ALREADY LOADED. PRINCIPAL  
DIFFICULTY NOT REPEAT NOT WMQHFMG SINCE OMO BARE HAS INDICATED  
NO REPEAT NO OBJECTION TO CALABAR. PROBLEM IS IN SITUATION  
IN CALABAR WHERE MICHAEL OGOON SOUTH EASTERN STATE COMMISSIONER  
REHABILITATION ALREADY ATTEMPTING ASSERT AUTHORITY OVER ICRC  
RELIEF SUPPLIES IN CALABAR AREA. FEAR WHICH PROBABLY JUSTIFIED  
IS THAT OGOON WILL NOT REPEAT NOT MAKE PROPER DISTRIBUTION AND  
MIGHT EVEN SKIM OFF RELIEF GOODS FOR PERSONAL GAIN. AT MOMENT  
ICRC APPEARS HAVE ENOUGH STOCKS CALABAR SO ADDITIONS UNNECESSARY  
ON RELIEF GROUNDS AT THIS TIME, AND BELIEVES THAT NIGERIAN  
RED CROSS (NRC) ALSO WOULD BE RELUCTANT SEE GOODS FALL INTO

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OGON'S HANDS. ICRC HOPEFUL THAT OMO BARE WILL BE ABLE WORK OUT  
SOME MORE SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENT (IN WHICH PRESUMABLY NRC  
BE INVOLVED) WHICH ASSURE UNHAMPERED AND PROPER DISTRIBUTION.  
ICRC BELIEVES MAY BE POSSIBLE SEND SHIP ON SECOND TRIP TO  
CALABAR. GP-4  
MATHEWS

NOTE: # AS RECEIVED,  
WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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123051  
B37  
24 Jul 69 23 30Z  
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Origin  
ACTION: USMission GENEVA PRIORITY  
Info: INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
" LAGOS  
" LONDON  
" PARIS  
" ROME

FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON

Refs: a) Geneva 2581; b) Lagos 6613 NOTAL

LIMDIS

1. Department concerned over continued rigidity Biafran position (reftel a) coupled with indication (reftel b) that Naville not repeat not prepared pursue prompt ICRC approach to Ojukwu.
2. Recognize that Naville apparently awaiting further reactions Houphouet, Vatican and possibly others but hope that you, if you find it feasible, will urge ICRC in some appropriate manner to move more rapidly in presenting its position to Biafrans.

END

RICHARDS

Drafted by: AF/W:DSSpigler:vcs:7/24/69  
Clearances: U/CF - Mr. Schott  
Tel. Ext. 2724  
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF/Ambassador Moore

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 06643 241131Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05,

UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 158 W  
071644

R 241110Z JUL 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO USMISSION GENEVA  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 7939

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SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - CANON CARR (WCC)

REF: GENEVA 2573

ACCORDING URHOB0, CRHISTIAN COUNCIL OF NIGERIA  
(WHICH REPRESENTS WCC), CARR AND NILHUS DEPARTED LAGOS  
JULY 16 TRANSITING ACCRA ENROUTE ABIDJAN, PARIS AND  
GENEVA. CANON CARR NOT INVOLVED CAR ACCIDENT LAGOS,  
BUT POSSIBLE, OF COURSE, HE MAY HAVE BEEN IN ACCIDENT  
DURING SUBSEQUENT TRAVELS.  
EXEMPT  
MATHEWS

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